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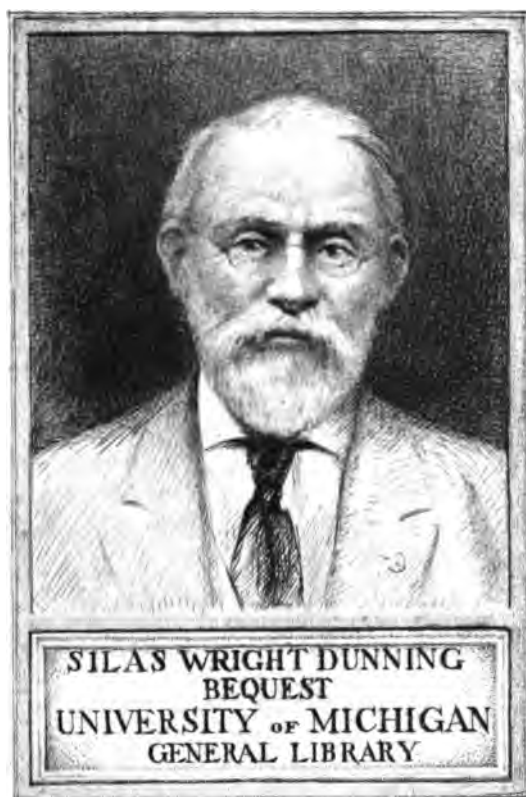
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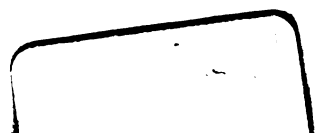
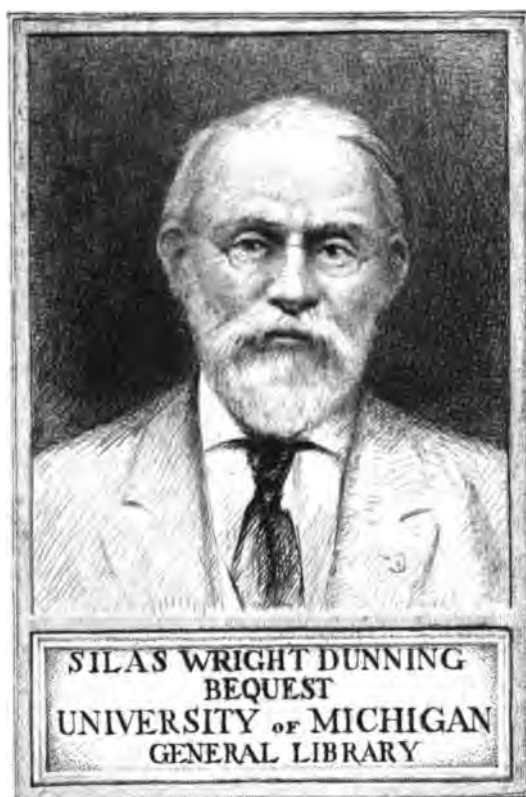
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MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS:

RELATING TO

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PUBLISHED BY THE

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

*Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine captos
Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.*

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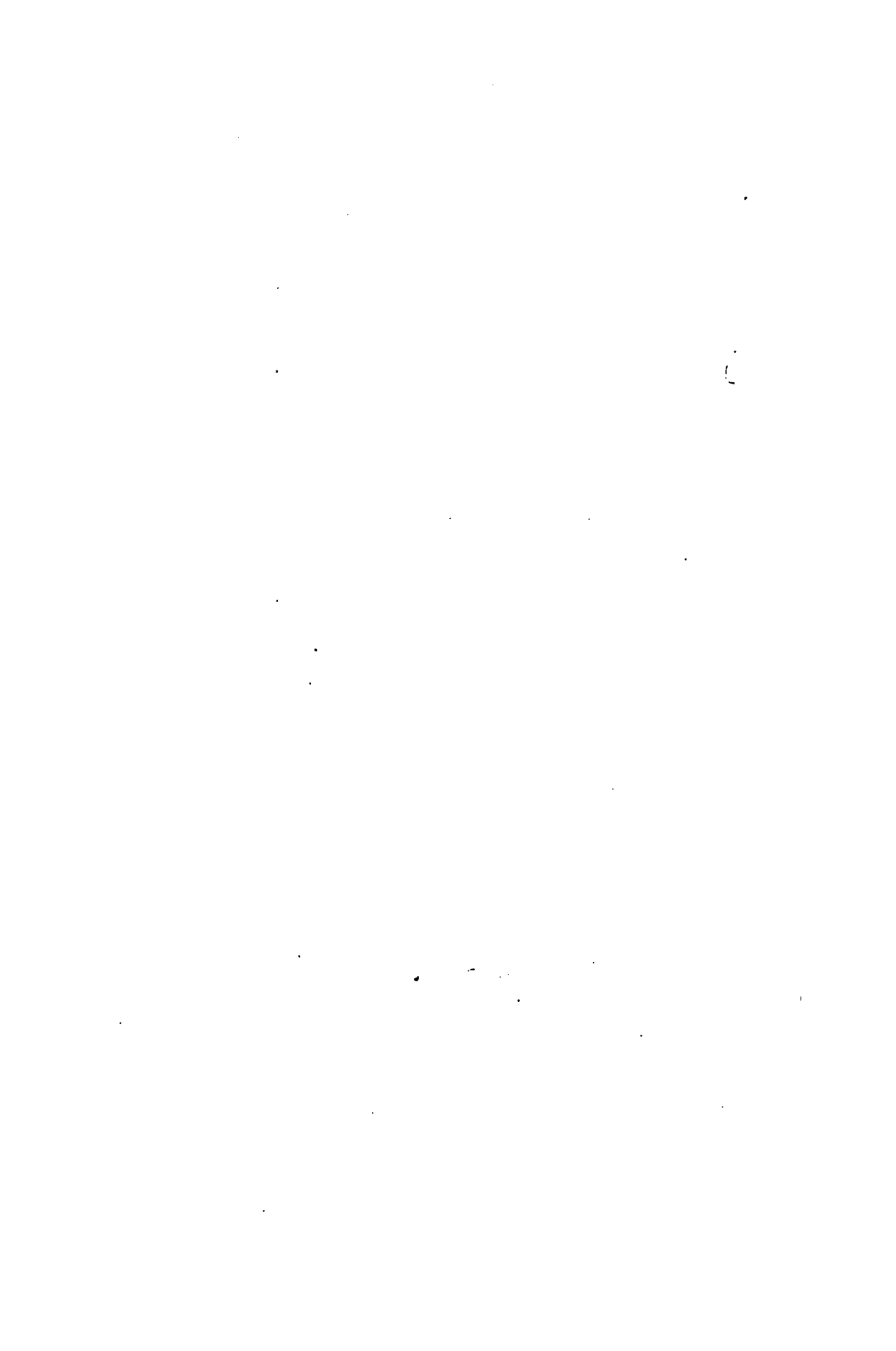
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1. THAT the Society shall be called, "THE NORFOLK AND NORWICH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY."

2. That the object of the Society shall be to collect the best information on the Arts and Monuments of the County, including Primeval Antiquities ; Numismatics ; Architecture, Civil and Ecclesiastical ; Sculpture ; Painting on Walls, Wood, or Glass ; Civil History and Antiquities, comprising Manors, Manorial Rights, Privileges and Customs ; Descent ; Genealogy ; Ecclesiastical History or Endowments, and Charitable Foundations ; Records, &c., and all other matters usually comprised under the head of Archæology.

3. That all information thus received shall be entered in books kept for the purpose, which shall be open to the inspection of the Members of the Society, and be kept in the custody of the Secretaries.

4. That the Officers of the Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and a Committee of eighteen.

5. That all such Antiquities as shall be given to the Society, shall be presented to the Norwich Museum.

6. That six of the Committee shall go out annually in rotation, but with the power of being re-elected ; and also that the Committee shall supply any vacancy that may occur in their number during the year.

7. That the President, Vice-Presidents, and Treasurer and Secretaries, be elected at the Annual General Meeting for one year, with power of being re-elected, and shall be ex-officio members of the Committee.

8. That any person desirous to become a member of this Society, shall be proposed by at least two of its Members, at either a General or Committee Meeting.

9. That every Member shall pay the Annual Subscription of Seven Shillings and Sixpence, to be due in advance on the first of January.

10. That distinguished Antiquaries, not connected with the County, may be elected as Honorary Members, at any of the General or Committee Meetings of the Society, on being proposed by two of the Members.

11. That four General Meetings shall be held in the year, at such times and places as shall be from time to time determined by the Committee.

12. That such short Papers shall be read at the Meetings as the Committee shall previously approve of, and that the Meetings shall conclude with the exhibition of, and discussion on, such subjects of interest or curiosity as Members may produce.

13. That the Committee may, on such occasions as they shall think necessary, call Special Meetings by advertisement.

14. That the Accounts shall be audited by two of the Committee, and a statement of the affairs of the Society shall be given at the first General Meeting in the year.

15. That the Committee shall meet the first Tuesday in every month, at Twelve o'clock, to receive such information, and make such arrangements as may be necessary, preparatory to the General Meetings. That three shall be a quorum, and that the Chairman shall have the casting vote.

16. That a short Annual Report of the Proceedings of the Society shall be laid before the General Meeting, and that a List of Members shall be printed from time to time.

17. That all papers deposited in the archives of this Society shall be considered the property of the Society; but that it shall be optional with the Committee to receive communications from Members, who are writing with other objects in view, and to return the same, after perusal, to the author.

18. That the Committee shall have the power of making Bye Laws, which shall remain in force till the next General Meeting.

19. That the Committee shall have the power of publishing such papers and engravings, at the Society's expense, as may be deemed worthy of being printed; that each Subscriber shall be entitled to a copy of such publication, either gratis or at such price as the funds of the Society will admit, from the time of his admission; and to such further copies, and previous publications (if any there be in hand), at a price to be fixed by the Committee; that the author of such published papers shall be entitled to fifteen copies, gratis; and that the Committee shall have the power to make such arrangements for reprinting any of the parts of the Society's Papers, when out of print, as they may deem most conducive to the interest of the Society.

20. That the Society in its pursuits shall be confined to the County of Norfolk.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1873.

READ MAY 20TH, 1874.

The Committee of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society present their Annual Report for the twenty-eighth year of the Society's existence. It is characteristic of an association such as ours that its history should be somewhat uneventful, and to pursue an even tenor of its way in the patient investigation which makes but little claim to public notoriety. In the stirring and changing times in which we live, it is somewhat of a relief to belong to a body whose members can meet and carry on their undertaking with no jarring interests or wounded spirits; where study and research is not within its range, unless centuries have rolled by since its objects ceased to live; where doubts and discussions only reach to the meaning of the past, and bring no disquiet for the value of the present or the good of the future; where sorrow, if it comes, is only for the passing away of one more memorial of the skill and taste of bygone generations, and joy can rise no higher than for the recovery of some hidden treasure of art or history. Not, however, that the Society's work has been standing still. The object for which it exists continues, it is believed,

to prosper. Its members are to be found in all parts of the county, and their influence and the mere name of the Society has done good in preserving ancient remains from wanton destruction, and bringing to light undiscovered examples, of which several instances might be mentioned.

Perhaps the most valuable discovery that has been recently made is one which is already well known to the members, and was the subject of a paper by our President last year, but has not been adverted to in our Annual Report before—viz., the beautiful paintings on the wall and roof of the “Confessio” in Norwich Cathedral. The early date and artistic character of these mural decorations, which have been most carefully copied for the Society by Mr. C. J. Winter, render them highly deserving of publication.

In architecture, a portion of the unusually fine rose window of the thirteenth century was found in the chancel wall during the alterations of St. Margaret’s Church, at Lynn, last year. The members of the Society had an opportunity of seeing it on the occasion of their excursion to that town, when they were most hospitably received, and spent an instructive day among the old buildings of the place, the history of which was very ably illustrated by Mr. E. M. Beloe. Some very curious sculptures in alabaster, found in a similar manner in the walls of East Rudham Church, have also been seen by the members, the churchwardens having kindly sent them for inspection, and allowed drawings to be made. They appeared to have formed portions of a reredos, representing scenes of Scripture history and the lives of some saints. They are too imperfect to be combined into one connected design, but quite deserve publication.

The first part of the Society’s eighth volume is now ready for delivery to the subscribers of 1873; and the Committee desire to express their best thanks for the gift of illustrations to a paper on Harpley Church, contributed

and explained by the able pen of Mrs. Herbert Jones. Materials are already in hand for a second part, which, it is hoped, may be issued by the end of the year.

Two very eminent archæologists have been removed by death in the past year, to the deep regret of all who knew them—one a Subscribing Member, and the other an Honorary Member of our own Society—Mr. John Gough Nichols and Mr. Albert Way. Perhaps to no two names of late years has historical study and archæological research been more deeply indebted than to these, and their stores of information were always freely accessible to other students. Their valuable contributions to published materials deserve much higher recognition than can be made here; but our gratitude is due to them both, on the account of our Society, for constant communication of the most sound and varied learning.

On the motion of Sir F. Boileau, it was unanimously resolved to request the Dean to accept the office of President for another year. To this the Dean consented.

Mr. Fitch was re-elected Treasurer, and the Rev. C. R. Manning and Mr. Fitch, Honorary Secretaries for the ensuing year. The retiring members of the Committee were also re-elected, and the Rev. Dr. Jessopp was elected in the room of Sir F. Boileau, who had become one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1874.

READ APRIL 27TH, 1875.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society took place in the Guildhall, Norwich, on the day stated above, the Rev. A. C. Copeman presiding, in the absence of the President, the Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich. Mr. Fitch, Hon. Secretary and Treasurer, presented and read the following Report :—

In reviewing the work of our Society for the past year, it is evident that, whether in consideration of accessions to its members or of the interest of its pursuits, the study for which it is established is as full of life and vigour as ever. Archæology, in all branches, is probably far more generally appreciated and understood than in any previous time. Almost every educated person has now some acquaintance with it; and every discovery of the least importance receives full publicity in the columns of the press. Its higher branches are investigated by the most learned men of our day, and the most scientific methods are applied to the solution of the questions it proposes.

An entirely new field of research has been opened, of ex-

traordinary interest, by the publication of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries in "Troy and its Remains."

Whatever conclusion may be eventually arrived at, as to the age of the innumerable objects disinterred by him in the Troad, it is certain that they are a class of antiquities unlike any other; and whether or not they demonstrate the former existence of Troy, the whole subject includes many questions of much interest to ourselves, such as the usually accepted theory of independent ages of stone, bronze, and iron.

Two excursions were made by the members of our Society in the past year; one to the churches of Toftrees, Weasenhams, Massingham, Harpley, Rudham, and Sculthorpe, with the advantage of the guidance and hospitality of Sir Willoughby Jones; the other, of a special and very interesting character, but unavoidably hasty in previous notice to the members, to visit the curious Wells found within a Roman inclosure at Ashill, in making the railway from Watton to Swaffham. Although the object of these wells, filled with layers of pottery, from which about a hundred vessels have been extracted by Mr. Barton, has been carefully discussed by antiquaries in and beyond our own county, it is still undecided whether they were sepulchral or domestic. The discoveries will be fully explained and illustrated in a future part of our Papers.

The exertions of our Local Secretary at Yarmouth, Mr. C. J. Palmer, have been instrumental, it is hoped, in averting the destruction of the ancient Toll-house in that town. There is good reason to believe that the Town Council are fully sensible of the trust reposed in them, as guardians of their historical buildings, and will not suffer this valuable relic to be injured.

The second part of the eighth volume of our *Original Papers* is now just ready to be issued, and there are considerable materials in hand for a third portion, which the Committee hope to publish by the end of the year.

The members of the Committee who retire in rotation this year are as follows, and they are eligible for re-election :— The Rev. Hinds Howell, the Rev. Dr. Jessopp, the Rev. H. Evans Lombe, A. W. Morant, Esq., R. M. Phipson, Esq., and the Rev. W. Vincent.

From the balance-sheet, which was next read, it appeared that on May 18, 1874, there was a balance of £200 1s. 10d. at Messrs. Gurneys', that the sum since received in subscriptions amounted to £99, and with a life subscription of £5, and £3. 18s. and £2. 11s. 3d. received from the sale of publications and from interest, made the total receipts £310. 11s. 1d. The principal items of expenditure were £13. 4s. for engravings, by Utting, £3. 6s. 8d. for printing by Messrs. Miller and Leavins, £3. 18s. 11d. for postage and carriage, and £10. for the collector's salary ; a balance remaining in the hands of the bankers of £275. 9s. 8d.

The report and balance-sheet having been adopted, the Officers and Committee were re-elected for the ensuing year, namely : President, the Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich ; moved by Mr. A. Preston, seconded by Mr. J. B. Morgan ; Dr. Goulburn's great services in preserving and restoring our ancient monuments and elucidating their history being warmly eulogised. Secretaries, the Rev. C. R. Manning and Mr. Fitch, to whom the thanks of the Society were cordially tendered for their past services ; moved by Mr. Carthew, seconded by Mr. Druery. Treasurer, Mr. R. Fitch. Members of the Committee, the Rev. Hinds Howell, Dr. Jessopp, the Rev. H. Evans Lombe, Mr. A. W. Morant, Mr. R. M. Phipson, and the Rev. W. Vincent.

A number of objects of antiquarian interest were laid on the table for general inspection. Mr. Fitch contributed two excellent specimens of stone implements from Switzerland : they are fixed in a socket of stags' horn, the ends being worked in a square form, and were found on the site of the ancient Lake Dwellings. *Evans' Ancient Stone Implements*

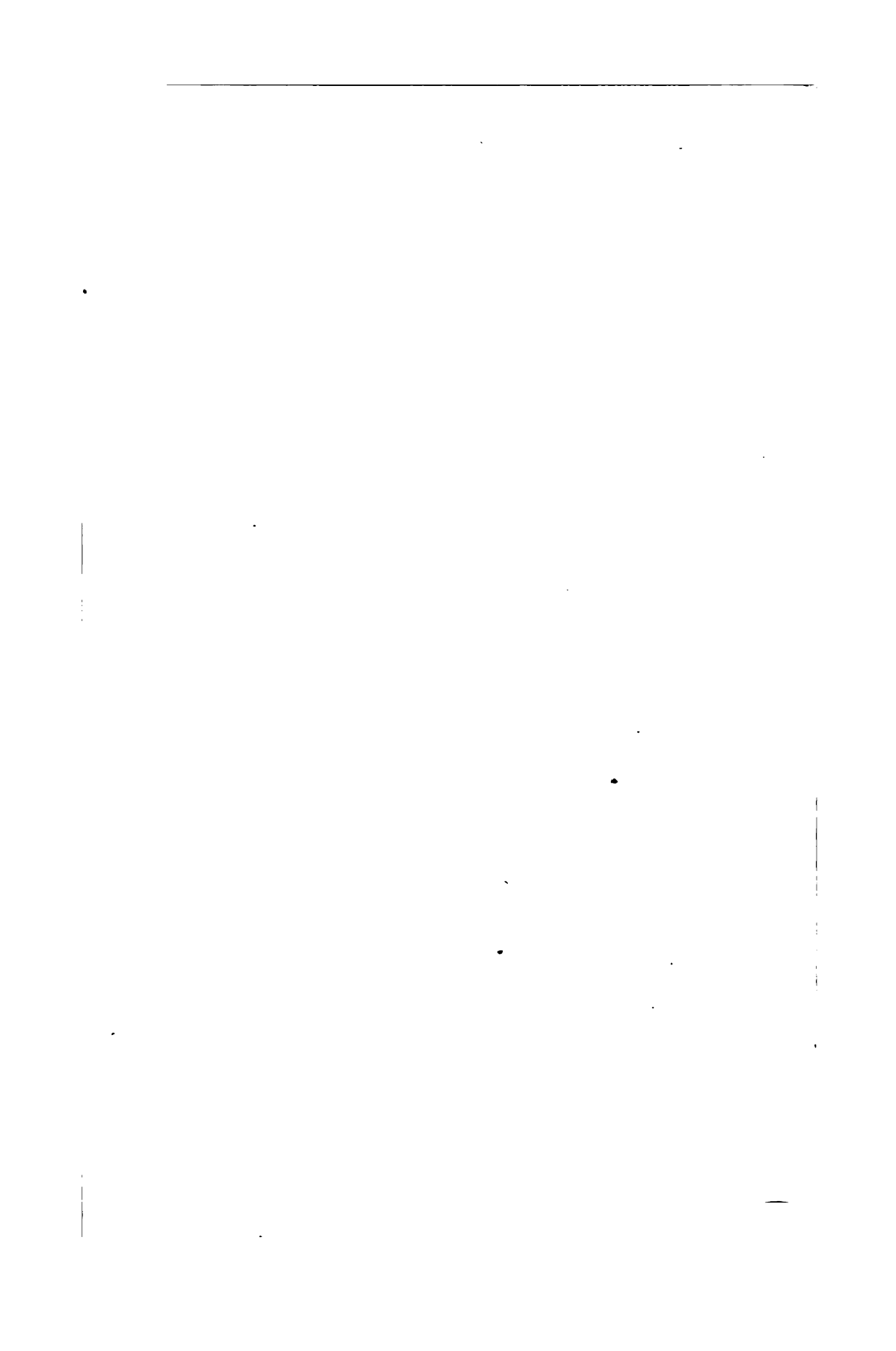
of *Great Britain* gives an exact figure of them. A Roman urn, found in the garden of West Lodge, Colchester, an antique key, found on Bracondale, and a piece of the fine ornamental pavement of Malvern Abbey, were exhibited by Mr. E. S. Steward. The Corporation ancient bushel measure, which was lately found among some "lumber" at the Guildhall, and has since been deposited in the Museum, occupied a place on the table.

Several very interesting autograph letters were contributed by Mr. Preston: one which has appeared in the *Eastern Counties Collectanea*, from Sir Thomas Browne to William Dugdale, Esq; another from Dr. Corbet, Bishop of Norwich in 1633, to Sir Thomas Browne (it is proposed to publish this letter in the Society's publications); and the third was one of condolence to a lady on the death of a relative, by Bishop Hall, dated from his residence at "Hygham, Norwich" (the present "Dolphin" inn), and in which that celebrated man expressed a wish to be buried in Heigham Churchyard, because he thought "dead carcasses" ought not to be put into the church.

Mr. Fitch acknowledged the receipt from the Royal University of Norway at Christiana of some pamphlets and a work entitled "*Postola Sögur*," which contains legendary tales from old MSS. of the lives of the Apostles, their teachings and martyrdoms. Mr. Fitch pointed out that the forwarding of these works to the Society showed that its operations were recognised by kindred associations at a distance, and on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Dr. Bensly, it was unanimously resolved, "That the best thanks of the Society be given to the University for forwarding to it so valuable a work."

The Chairman conveyed the thanks of the Association to Mr. C. J. Palmer, for his exertions in securing the continued existence of the old Toll-house at Yarmouth, significantly remarking that it was gratifying to find there were Town

Councils in the Eastern Counties which had some regard to antiquity. Having dwelt with satisfaction upon the signs of a growing interest in archæological pursuits, he expressed the hope that England would in some measure follow the example set by the Government of France some years ago in effectually preserving the monuments of the country; and on the motion of Mr. Carthew, a petition was ordered to be prepared and sent to Parliament in the name of the Society, praying Parliament to pass Sir John Lubbock's Bill into law.



NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1875.

READ SEPTEMBER 22ND, 1876.

A few words only are needed to report the position of our Society for the past year, before laying the statement of its financial affairs before the members.

It is satisfactory to see, as we undoubtedly may, a steady progress in the study of Archæology in the country at large. Men's opinions are now certainly much more accurately defined, especially with regard to our earlier antiquities, than they were. Probably many of our own members have seen reason materially to change their views on some points during the lapse of thirty years since the Society was established. The comparative age and classification of flint implements and of earth-works, the distinction between British, Roman, and Saxon antiquities, the date of early architectural buildings, and the true relations of family history,—all these are much more accurately fixed than formerly; and if it cannot be said that our own Society has made any important advance in the past year, or contributed valuable data to the general knowledge, yet our publications bear a good reputation in a wide and cultivated class; and we can all claim a share in this progress through

our acquaintance with the proceedings of other societies, and the information which the Press does not fail to supply of the views of those who have more opportunity of research.

The Society's excursion last year was from Tivetshall station, when visits were paid to Channons Hall, a portion of a fine old house; Gissing church, with its Norman doorways, and fine Perpendicular roof, and some memorials of the ancient family of Kemp; Tibenham church, with some interesting features; Tivetshall, with two churches, one with the Elizabethan arms and boarding still remaining above the rood screen, and a founder's tomb; and the Pulhams, both fine churches—St. Mary Magdalene, beautifully restored under Mr. Phipson's hands; and St. Mary's, with some excellent carved woodwork and a very fine south porch, with some sculptured figures, which it was high time to release from the strange interpretation of them given by Blomefield and others, and to show that they are susceptible of no unusual or difficult explanation.

One event, which we all have deep cause to deplore, has occurred since the beginning of this year, and would, therefore, properly come into next year's report; but as the annual meeting to-day is held, owing to several circumstances, at a much later period than has been customary, it cannot be passed over on this occasion without the expression of our great regret. In the Hon. Fred. Walpole we have lost an antiquary of no mean acquirements, and a very zealous member of the Committee. The feeling, which the whole county shared, of sorrow and loss, was nowhere more sincerely experienced than among a large circle of our Society, in which he always took a very warm interest, and had greatly helped by his knowledge and experience. His place in the Committee, which he filled with such frequent attendance and such readiness to impart information, will be no easy task to supply.

The third part of the eighth volume of our *Original Papers* is published to-day, and is enriched by another contribution from the pen of Mrs. Herbert Jones. The first volume of the *Visitation of Norfolk* was completed with the Papers issued last year, and an Index of Names to that volume is now in preparation. Members are desired not to bind it until the Index is ready.

The Members of the Committee who retire by rotation this year are Captain Bulwer, Rev. W. Grigson, Mr. Blake Humfrey, Mr. Watson, and Mr. F. Worship. They are capable of re-election; and there are two vacancies, one caused by the departure of the Rev. J. J. Smith from the county, and the other by the lamented death of the Hon. F. Walpole. The Committee recommend the names of the Rev. A. C. Copeman and Dr. Beverley, of Norwich, to supply their places.

<i>Dr. The Treasurer in Account with the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.</i>				<i>Cr.</i>			
1875, March 24.				1875.			
To Balance at Messrs. Gurneys' :-				By C. J. Winter, for Engravings, &c. ..	..	£	s. d.
General Account ..	212	6	4	J. D. Cooper, " ..	..	21	5 6
Deposit " ..	63	3	4	R. B. Utting, " ..	..	1	7 6
To 2 Life Subscriptions ..	..	..	..	S. H. Cowell, " ..	..	2	8 0
1 Annual Subscription for 1872 ..	..	0	7 6	Messrs. Miller and Leavins, Printing, &c. ..	..	2	13 9
" 3 " " 1873 ..	1873	1	2 6	Messrs. Warner and Co., for Deed Box ..	..	61	11 0
" 21 " " 1874 ..	1874	7	17 6	Advertisements ..	..	1	10 0
" 184 " " 1875 ..	1875	69	0 0	Gratuity to Hall Keeper ..	..	1	3 6
" 6 " " 1876 ..	1876	2	5 0	Expenses at Pulham Excursion ..	..	0	10 0
" Sale of Publications ..	..	..	..	Postage, Carriage, and Miscellaneous Ex- penses ..	..	0	7 0
" Messrs. Gurney & Co. Interest—				Collector's Salary ..	..	4	17 11
On General Account ..	2	2	11	1876, Jan. 26 ..	..	10	0 0
Deposit " ..	1	1	6	By Balance at Messrs. Gurneys' :-			
				General Account ..	224	9	10
				Deposit " ..	64	4	10
						288	14 8
						£386	8 10

Audited and found correct, J. H. DRUERY.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1876.

READ JUNE 6TH, 1877.

Our Society has now completed thirty-one years of its work, having been established in January, 1846. At that time, notwithstanding the researches of the older antiquaries, much had to be done "for the Encouragement and Prosecution of Research into the Early Arts and Monuments of the County," as our title page expresses its undertaking; for improving the public taste, and preserving antiquities from wanton destruction; and for the collection and preservation of facts and documents connected with them. It was somewhat novel too, and certainly agreeable, for persons of kindred tastes to make excursions together, and visit curious objects of interest,—churches, castles, halls, and ancient sites,—throughout the county, and to bring to bear upon them the results of fresh study and information. In the first-mentioned part of this work,—its influence and research,—there is no reason to think that the Society has suffered diminution. It is hoped that it may take credit for having had a very considerable effect on public opinion in its district, and for having stored and distributed much valuable archæological matter. In its secondary pursuit,—personal visits to objects of antiquity,—it is natural that time should have made a difference. A whole generation

has passed ; and although many most interesting spots have never been visited by us as a body, communication is so general, and information so accessible, that almost all the ancient places of interest are well known and appreciated. The work of the Society, therefore, may not be regarded as less important, if it is restricted more than formerly to the collection of facts and discoveries, and to the publication of Papers, and if accordingly it makes perhaps less outward show, and is more noiseless in continuing to rear its fabric.

The excursion of the past year was made in a locality very near at hand, but not the less interesting in some points, and by many of those who joined it unvisited before. The route taken was to Trowse Church, with its dated chancel and east window ; Kirby Bedon, with remains of two churches, one with an early ruined tower ; Framingham Pigot, where the members had an opportunity of inspecting some choice treasures of art in the hospitable residence of Mr. Christie ; Framingham Earl Church, a curious example of eleventh century architecture ; Arminghall Church, without some mural paintings, which the Committee had fortunately received drawings of, and hoped to have seen *in situ*, and the old hall in the same parish, with some rich sculptures from different sources and of different styles.

It is due to an old member of our Society and Committee, G. A. Carthew, Esq., to mention in this place that the year has been signalized by the production of the First Part of his very able and learned work, the *History of the Hundred of Launditch*.

The Members of the Committee who retire in rotation this year are Dr. Bensly, Dr. Beverley, Rev. J. Bulwer, Mr. Gunn, Rev. R. Hart, Rev. J. Lee-Warner, and the Committee recommend their re-election.

<i>Dr.</i> <i>The Treasurer in Account with the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.</i> <i>Cr.</i>			
1876.			
Jan. 26.	To Balance at Messrs. Gurneys:—	£.	s. d.
	General Account ..	224	9 10
	Deposit ..	64	4 10
		288	14 8
Dec. 31.	To 2 Subscriptions for 1874	0	15 0
	30 ..	1875	11 15 0
	196 ..	1876	73 10 0
	9 ..	1877	3 7 6
		88	17 6
	To Sale of Publications ..	17	16 9
	" Messrs. Gurney and Co. for Interest—		
	On General Account ..	2	14 11
	Deposit ..	1	1 4
		3	16 3
		£399	5 2
1877.			
Feb. 14.	To Balance at Messrs. Gurneys:—		
	General Account ..	258	14 1
	Deposit ..	65	6 2
		324	0 3
		£399	5 2
1876.			
	By S. H. Cowell, for Engravings ..		
	" C. J. Winter ..		
	" Miller and Leavins, Printing. &c. ..		
	" Excursions, Carriages, &c. ..		
	" Gratuity to Hall Keeper ..		
	" Advertisements ..		
	" Postage and Carriages ..		
	" Binding ..		
	" Collector's Salary ..		
		£75	4 11
	" Balance at Messrs. Gurneys—		
	General Account ..	258	14 1
	Deposit ..	65	6 2
		324	0 3
		£399	5 2
Audited by J. H. DRUERY, May 26th, 1877.			

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1877.

READ APRIL 3RD, 1878.

IN reporting to our Members the condition of this Society for the past year, and its prospects for the future, there appears to be no particular change differing from its position in previous years, that calls for their attention or affects its interest.

The Committee are glad to be able to produce to the Members to-day the fourth part of the eighth volume of their "Original Papers." It is a part which will be found to contain several contributions of much interest, well illustrated by engravings; and is one in which the care of the respective authors of the Papers to make their statements complete and accurate, has cost the Committee and Secretaries no small amount of labour and correspondence.

It is probably known to most of the Members that the late Dr. Husenbeth left in MS. a large mass of additions to his book on the Emblems of Saints. His collections were purchased by a member of the Committee, who has kindly offered to edit a new edition for the Society. It is thought that this would be a very useful manual on the subject, well deserving of publication, and might properly be issued at the Society's expense to its Members as a separate volume.

It is hoped that the editor may be able to complete his labour during the present year, when each Member would receive a copy free, and it would be sold to non-members at a price to be fixed by the Committee.

The Index to the first volume of the "Visitation of Norfolk" is now ready for the press, and it is proposed to issue it very shortly with the concluding part of vol. viii.

The first excursion of the past year was held in the Cromer neighbourhood in July, when visits were made to Cromer Church, an Encampment at Beeston, and the interesting remains of the abbey there; to Sheringham Church, with its rare remains of a rood-loft; to the site of Gresham Castle, apparently not older than a fortified manor-house; and to Felbrigg Church, a building in lamentable neglect, with some magnificent well-known brasses. At the fine old mansion of Felbrigg Hall, the visitors were received and entertained with great kindness by Mrs. Ketton.

The second excursion was taken in the pleasant country to the immediate west of Norwich, and comprised some places of much local interest and considerable historic memory. Bishop Hall's Palace at Heigham, with the Church, his burial-place, were first visited; then Bowthorpe Hall and Church, where a very valuable paper was read by Dr. Jessopp, since printed in our new part; Bawburgh Hall, with some fine remains in the adjoining premises of fourteenth-century sculpture, similar to those now preserved at Arminghall, and possibly conveyed here from Carrow Abbey, or some other ruined building of importance; Bawburgh Church and St. Walstan's Well; Ringland Church, with a noble roof falling into serious decay, and paintings of saints on the screen panels barbarously mutilated by modern fanaticism; and Drayton Church, an opposite scene of care and order, where the excursionists were most hospitably received by the Rev. Canon Hinds Howell.

The Committee have to deplore, in common with the County and Diocese, the loss in the past year of one of their Vice-Presidents, the Ven. A. M. Hopper, Archdeacon of Norwich, to whom the pursuits of our Society were always matters of intelligent study and active support. They are glad, however, to be able to state to-day that his successor in the office, Archdeacon Perowne, will allow his name to be added to our list in his room.

The Members of the Committee who retire in rotation are Mr. Phipson, Mr. H. Evans Lombe, Mr. Morant, Dr. Jessopp, Mr. Hinds Howell, and Mr. Vincent, and the Committee desire to propose their re-election with the addition of the name of Charles Williams, Esq., in the place of Dr. Beverley, who desires to retire.

NORFOLK AND NORWICH

Archæological Society.

REPORT FOR 1879.

READ MARCH 17TH, 1880.

It needs but a few words on the part of the Committee to report the condition of this Society for the past year. A considerable accession of new Members, and a strong financial position bespeak its continued prosperity, and that there is no lack of interest in its pursuits. At the same time the Committee must repeat their expression of regret that more Papers suitable for printing are not offered them, and that great delay is caused in issuing their publications through the difficulty of getting the productions of different writers through the press.

The third edition of Dr. Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*, under the editorship of Dr. Jessopp, is being rapidly proceeded with, and several Papers also of much interest are in hand for the First Part of Volume IX., which, it is, hoped, will be issued in the summer.

The Society has to deplore the loss in the past year of three of its oldest and most useful and learned Members:

the Rev. James Bulwer of Hunworth, whose knowledge and artistic skill was long of great assistance, and is evidenced by many valuable contributions to our volumes; the Rev. W. Grigson, an indefatigable genealogist, to whom we are much indebted in editing the *Visitation of Norfolk*, and who was a very regular and useful attendant at Committees; and Mr. Thomas Barton of Threxton, a Local Secretary, who had acquired much experience in Roman antiquities, and was fortunate in the researches made in his own neighbourhood, and always generous in communicating his discoveries to the Society.

In consequence of the meeting in this county of the British Archæological Association in August last, our Society was obliged to postpone a projected excursion, and joined with that Association on one of its days of meeting, in order to visit the beautiful historic mansion of Blickling, when the Members were hospitably entertained, and where its treasures and associations and the history of the Church were ably recounted by the Rev. F. Meyrick. At the same time a visit was paid to the exceedingly curious and beautiful Church at Burgh by Aylsham, on which there are some remarks by the late Sir G. Gilbert Scott, to be published in the next part. The fine Churches at Cawston and Sall were also inspected the same day.

Among the presents received by the Society last year may be mentioned some valuable works on early American Geography, from the Rev. B. F. Da Costa of New York; and the very interesting and carefully prepared *Memorials of the Family of Palgrave*, privately printed, from C. J. Palmer, Esq., our Local Secretary at Great Yarmouth.

In the Report for the year 1876, the Society felt it due to offer congratulations to one of our oldest and most learned Members, Mr. G. A. Carthew, on the appearance of the first part of his *History of the Hundred of Launditch*; with still more reason may we now congratulate him on the

completion of the three parts, and the conclusion of his laborious undertaking. No topographical work of so high a class has been published in the county since the time of Blomefield; and the methods and results of modern investigation enable it to take even a higher rank than it was possible to reach when Blomefield wrote.

The Members of the Committee who retire in rotation this year are Dr. Bensly, Mr. J. Gunn, Rev. R. Hart, Rev. J. Lee-Warner, Mr. C. Williams; and the Committee desire to recommend their re-election, with the addition of the names of the Rev. Dr. Raven of Yarmouth, and the
not on cover — Rev. J. W. Millard, Shimpling, to supply the two vacant places.

<i>Dr.</i> <i>The Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society.—The Treasurer's Account.</i> <i>Cr.</i>			
1879.			
Feb. 10.	To Balance at Messrs. Gurneys:—		
	General account ..	284 10 7	
	Deposit account ..	78 1 6	
		<u>362 12 1</u>	
	Subscriptions:—		
	1 for 1876 ..	0 7 6	
	5 for 1877 ..	1 17 6	
	24 for 1878 ..	9 0 0	
	167 for 1879 ..	62 12 6	
	5 for 1880 ..	1 17 6	
		<u>75 15 0</u>	
	Sale of Publications ..	28 18 6	
	Messrs. Gurney & Co. for Interest:—		
	General account ..	1 5 9	
	Deposit account, £4.11s. & £1.4s.7d.	5 15 7	
		<u>7 1 4</u>	
		<u>£474 6 11</u>	
1879.			
	By S. H. Cowell, for Engravings ..		4 0 8
	" C. J. Winter, for Drawings ..		6 7 0
	" Ditto ..		3 15 6
	" Miller and Leavins, Printing, &c. ..		1 19 6
	" A. H. Goose & Co., ditto ..		1 5 2
	" Ditto, on account ..		15 0 0
	" Excursion Expenses ..		0 13 0
	" Advertisements ..		0 18 6
	" Gratuity to Hall Keeper ..		0 10 0
	" Postage and Carriage ..		3 17 3
	" Painting Cabinet ..		0 10 6
	" Purchase of Parts of Vol. 7 ..		1 11 6
	" Binding ..		1 5 3
	" Collector's Salary ..		10 0 0
	" Balance at Messrs. Gurney's:—		
	General account ..	94 7 0	
	Deposit account ..	329 6 1	
		<u>423 13 1</u>	
		<u>£474 6 11</u>	

Audited by J. H. DRUERY, 15th March, 1880.

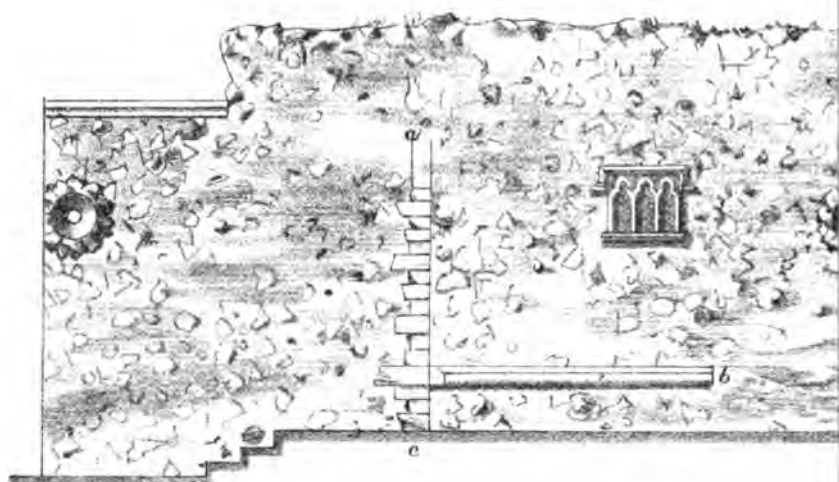
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Scale $\frac{1}{16}$ of an Inch to a Foot.

Saxon Remains
IN THE
CLOISTERS OF NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

COMMUNICATED BY
JOHN GUNN, ESQ., M.A., F.G.S.

IN the reign of Edward the Confessor Norwich was a flourishing town. According to the Domesday Survey it possessed 1,320 burgesses in the time of King Edward, and not less than twenty-five churches, among which was the church of St. Michael, held by Stigand, and the church of the Holy Trinity, held by twelve burgesses in King Edward's time and by the Bishop William Belsagus, at the survey, of the gift of King William.

The record of so many ancient churches led Mr. Richard Taylor to remark (*Index Monasticus*, page 6) that "in a town which contained such a multitude of churches and chapels as early as the Conqueror's time, it is somewhat singular that so few traces of ancient architecture are discoverable in the early parochial churches." The discovery, therefore, of Saxon remains, which forms the subject of this Paper, in the west wall of the cloisters of the Norwich Cathedral, is in accordance with probability; and our late respected Secretary, Mr. Harrod,

states in his excellent work, *Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk* (page 235), that evidence exists which seems to him to go very nearly to prove that the church of Herbert was built on the site of a yet more ancient one, dedicated also to the Holy Trinity. In proof of this he cites from Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici*, vol. iv., p. 282, the following very conclusive extract. Sifed made his will "when he went over the sea" some forty years before Herbert's time, and devised, among other things, "and ic an into Nordwick to Cristes Kirk iijj rechenen and to into Sancte Marian."

And what and where was this Christ's Church in Norwich? It appears that this title was continued from the original monastic church, called in Domesday Survey the church of the Holy Trinity, to the Cathedral, built by Herbert, and so dedicated by him and continued from his time to at least the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Indeed these titles seem to have been convertible, the one being used by the upper and the other by the lower classes. Harrod observes that, although in the wills of the upper classes the Cathedral is referred to as the church of the Holy Trinity, in those of the lower it is constantly called Christ's Church. Of this he cites numerous instances from Wills, from the Corporation Accounts, and the Session and Assembly Books also. He inserts also a very droll account from the anecdotes by L'Estrange, published by the Camden Society, which unmistakeably connects and identifies Christ's Church with the Cathedral. He refers also to some parallel cases which are very confirmatory;—the church of the Holy Trinity in York is stated in the Domesday Survey to be held by Richard, son of Erfast; and in the enumeration of his lands in the Survey, all the lands held by him in right of this church are named as held of Christ's Church. The priories of Christ's Church, London, and Christ's Church, Hampshire, were both dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

I have purposely refrained from adducing as evidence the statement made by Ingulphus, the chronicler of Croyland, that when he was installed there in 1076 (twenty years before the foundation of Norwich Cathedral) he found one hundred "comprofessi," or monks from other monasteries, of whom fourteen were from Christ's Church, Norwich, because doubts have been raised as to the genuineness and the date of his Chronicle so called. It appears to me that, however little value may be attached to this account of the migration of the monks from Norwich, and whatever may be the date of the Chronicle, it serves to prove that Christ's Church was a title given, at some time or other, to a monastic establishment in Norwich. I pass by also Blomefield's observation that this title could not have belonged to the present Cathedral, because it was not then founded by Herbert de Losinga, but that it belonged to the church of St. John's Maddermarket, which he identified with that of Holy Trinity mentioned in Domesday Survey, notwithstanding there is no record relating to St. John's Maddermarket church prior to the fourteenth century.

Since the above was written, Dr. Bensly has set the question at rest by producing a copy of the "sanctuary map" of Norwich of 1541, from the Public Record Office, in which the Cathedral is called "Cristechurch." Mr. Thomas Hancock, the City Treasurer, in his rich collection of maps of Norwich, has one about 1575, in which it is described as "the Cathedrall Church called Christes Church." From the above facts it is evident that a "Cristis kirk" was in Norwich before the time of Herbert de Losinga, which was identical with the church of the Holy Trinity recorded in the Domesday Survey, and also that the Cathedral dedicated by him to the Holy Trinity retained the name of Christ Church.

It is important to mention that the Conqueror is said, in *Domesday Book*, to have given to Arfast (1086), fourteen

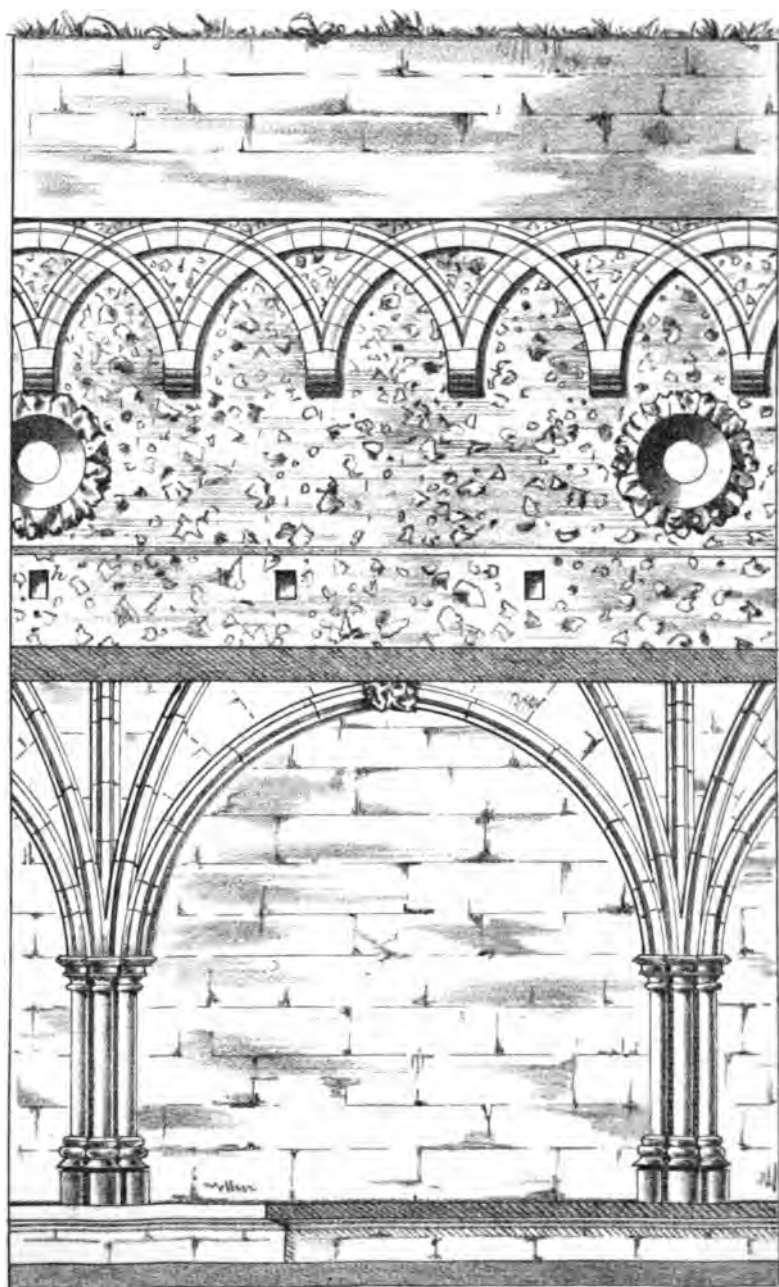
mansuræ, or tenements, for the building of the principal See; and this plainly indicates that he contemplated the erection of a See at Norwich previous to the time of Herbert's installation.

The absence of any allusion by Herbert, in his Foundation Charter, to any pre-existent monastic church, impresses me with the conviction that the removal of the monks, if at all, had taken place previously, and that the old monastic buildings had been pulled down to make room for the new Cathedral. And the coincidence of such previous demolition with the migration of monks from Christ's Church, Norwich, mentioned by Ingulphus, seems to be corroborative of the reality of those events, and of the truthfulness of the chronicle.

There was also the Church of St. Michael, as we have noticed, mentioned in the Survey. It is admitted on all hands that Herbert was installed in it, and that it stood near Tombland, but it has since been demolished. It is evident, therefore, that portions of these Saxon buildings, which were sufficiently strong, and available from convenience of site, might have been retained and utilized in the present Cathedral or Priory. And it is my object in the above remarks to show, not merely the possibility, but the probability that such was the case, and endeavour to invest with a degree of interest such ancient relics which connect the past with the present.

However interesting such archæological details may be, the reality of the Saxon remains in the west wall of the cloister does not depend upon them, but those remains must undergo the severe scrutiny of architectural knowledge and experience, and to these tests I beg to submit the following description of the wall in question.

It extends on the west side, covered and masqued by the recently-restored Locutory, at right angles with the south aisle of the nave, 180 feet to the south-west angle of the



cloisters. This entire length of wall is quite undisturbed, except where it has been pierced for more recent doorways, or for the junction of walls of buildings, as of the Strangers' Hall, at right angles to it. On the northern extremity of the Strangers' Hall it has been cut away for the reception of a coining of ashlar (*a*) and for an internal Decorated string (*b*) which is let into the old wall about twelve inches with a return on the north side. On searching with the spade, Mr. Spaul hit upon the foundation of the north wall (*c*) corresponding exactly with the coining of ashlar and the strings, and marking the true boundary of the Strangers' Hall on the north side. The string dies out about 17 feet 9 inches against the west wall, and I would suggest that this was at the termination of the dais, or raised and most ornamented part of the hall.

I propose to finish the notice of this more recent addition before I proceed to continue the description of the wall.

Besides the discovery of the north wall, Mr. Spaul observed a staircase, or rather remnant of one, at the south-west angle of the cloisters, which is not figured in Harrod's plan. The entire length assigned to the Strangers' Hall seems disproportionate to its width. Besides, at (*d*) the junction of a wall may be traced, which appears to have formed the southern termination of the Strangers' Hall, and to have separated it from another room. At the north-west angle of this room is a singular recess (*e*) under a depressed arch, which is truncated next the Strangers' Hall for want of space. It has been supposed that this recess held a cistern of water, which would have been conveniently placed to supply the lavatories adjoining. A set-off in the wall (*f*) has been added, apparently to cover the lavatories and the niches above them, which would otherwise have nearly pierced through the wall. The set-off does not extend beyond this room into the Strangers' Hall—a circumstance which marks the boundary of the rooms.

What were the uses of this room and of the staircase adjoining, and also their extent, require to be ascertained by further excavations; and we may rejoice that no pains will be wanting to elucidate and ornament the Cathedral, or *Christ Church*, under the Presidency of the Very Rev. the Dean, who has manifested such a faithful and loving care in its preservation.

To return to the Saxon remains in the old wall. On the east side, at intervals of 14 feet, there are circular apertures about 20 feet high from the pavement and floor of the cloisters. These are continuous throughout the extent of the wall, except where one has been removed for the insertion of a larger window above the string course of the Strangers' Hall, and another, probably, is concealed by recent flint-work adjoining the late Canon Wodehouse's residence. These circular windows are about the usual size of Saxon work, two feet outside, with a double splay contracted to one foot in the centre, in a wall three feet thick. There is one and a most important point, upon which all professional persons who have inspected the work are agreed, namely, that these windows have not been made in the wall after it was built, but have formed part of the original masonry. They are formed of flint uncut or worked, and scarcely a piece of freestone can be detected. They were plastered originally, as was also the west side of the wall, except where it has been refaced or repaired; and here also very rarely any freestone can be found throughout it, except in recently repaired parts, in the coinings and jambs.

I will next direct your attention to the east side of the wall. On ascending the staircase leading from the locutory, now used as a school, the supposed dormitory is reached, part of which, abutting upon the late Canon Wodehouse's house, is concealed by plaster, but the northern extremity discloses one double-splayed circular window, 19 feet 9 inches above the floor, and on the southern side of the recent window

already mentioned there is a continuous line of five double-splayed circular windows. The ancient wall may here be studied to advantage, as there is scarcely any plaster upon it. About seven inches above these windows, stretching the whole extent of the wall, is a line of interlacing Norman arches of the same pattern as in the three westernmost bays of the south aisle of the Cathedral. These interlacing arches rest upon corbels set upon the old wall without jambs, as in the rest of the Cathedral, indicating that the wall beneath had been built before the interlacing arches were designed, and there is an evident line of demarcation between the Norman and the wall beneath, giving an unmistakeably more modern appearance to the upper portion.

Another and important point is, that beneath the Norman interlacing work there is no appearance of ashlar work, except at the termination of either end of the old wall, where, on the northern extremity, next the Cathedral, it has been made good with freestone and united with ashlar work to the wall of the Cathedral, and also on the southern the like finishing of the walls with ashlar may be seen.

Beneath these double-splayed windows there is a continuous line of attachment (*g*) of a floor apparently, or lean-to roof, but the design of it is not evident, and also there are apertures or holes (*h*) in the wall, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $5\frac{1}{2}$, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart from each other. These were parts of the original structure, and were designed probably for corbels. They indicate that buildings had been attached to the east side of the wall, which in Saxon times was internal, whereas the Norman interlacing arches were external, as were also the Norman arcades on the south side of the cloisters abutting on the refectory. Long observation of similar double-splayed windows convinces me that they are Saxon, and that we have here the remnant of building of the Saxon period. It might have served as an outer wall of boundary or defence. The double splay of the window was well

calculated for archery, as it commanded an extensive view without exposing the combatant to attack, and the aperture was too small to admit of the ingress of an enemy. It has been observed by Rickman that the early ecclesiastical buildings were framed for defence against invaders.

But it is not within my province to account for the position in this place, or for the uses the building might have been applied to, or, indeed, to point out its possible connection with any other adjacent buildings. Were history altogether silent on the subject, or were there no clue whatever to the pre-existence of any edifice to the foundation of the present Cathedral, still the architectural evidence is so strong, that, independently of any other, it would convince me of the certainty of the Saxon origin of this piece of masonry.

Of the various characteristics of Saxon work, none is more decisive than the double-splayed window without the use of freestone. Herring-bone masonry is common to every period, and is had recourse to in building with rough materials at the present day as well as in Saxon times. The strait-sided window is not uncommon in later work. The use of flint and stones gathered from the land may be found in the meanest modern buildings. Short and long, and pilastered work, occur in towers of Saxon character; and balustered shafts, are all of wrought freestone, and may have been (as I remarked in an article on Beeston S. Lawrence church, read at the meeting of the Institute at Norwich, and printed in the report, page 217,) continued in Norman times by Saxon masons, as probably is the case at Great Dunham church. But the difference between circular Norman and Saxon windows is very obvious. The Norman is formed of freestone, well cut and wrought; the other, of rude flints and stones. The Norman has a single splay, or none at all; the Saxon has almost invariably the double splay; and so persistent is this cha-

racter that in the ruined church of Shotesham St. Martin (so called on the Ordnance Map) there is a double splay in a small window in the north wall, which is only fourteen inches thick. It is singular that this characteristic, perhaps then not generally known from its rarity, is omitted in the *Glossary of Architecture*.

In Norwich, from the changes and enlargements churches have undergone, no Saxon characteristics have been retained; the small churches in country villages may be said to abound in them. Framingham Earl still retains most interesting relics of this description, pointed out at a meeting of our Society by our respected Secretary, Mr. Manning. In a circular double-splayed window there, he observed the remnant of a rim of oak, and also an oak board, curiously closed, probably by leather thongs passed through oblique holes in the rudest manner, to serve as a window—before glass was in general use. At Coltishall church, coupled with coinings of Roman tiles, and also at Witton church, near the sea, are to be seen good examples of these windows over the north doors precisely corresponding with those under our immediate consideration. These were described by me in a Paper printed in the *Journal* of the Institute, vol. vi., page 359.

I do not think it necessary to enter into further particulars, and I will conclude this, I fear, necessarily tedious paper, because in order to make good my views I have dwelt upon extreme minutiae.

I beg to thank our venerable President, the Dean, for every facility he has afforded me in conducting my search; and Mr. Spaul for the excellent plan, drawings, and measurements he has supplied me with, and the valuable assistance he has rendered me.

On Earthworks at Mileham.

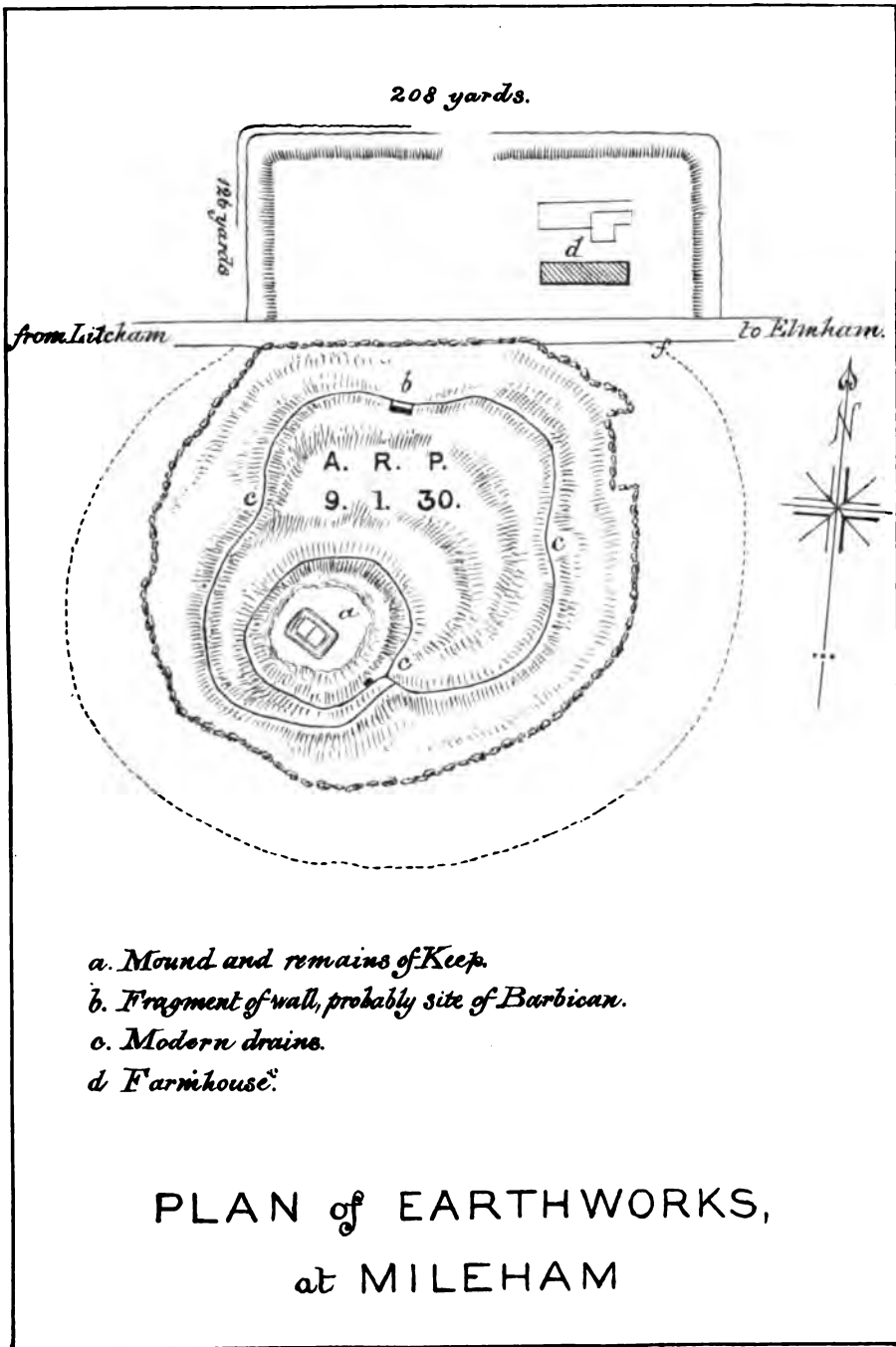
READ BY

G. A. CARTHEW, ESQ., F.S.A.

AT A MEETING OF THE SOCIETY AT MILEHAM IN 1871.

HERE is not much to be seen, but what there is is calculated to invite the attention of the inquirer into the early history of this island and its inhabitants.

This is one of those pre-historic mounds, with horseshoe outworks, which abound in this and the adjoining counties. By what race of men and at what era raised we have nothing but theory to guide us. I believe it may be safely said that they are earlier than the Roman occupation of the island, because the Romans have in some instances taken possession of them, as may be seen by the rectangular additions made to them. It is well known that the Roman encampments were rectangular; the British, circular. Now, in this case we have not only a circular mound, protected by horseshoe-shaped earthworks, but there are indications of straight embankments as well. We may therefore draw the conclusion that the Romans, finding these Celtic works convenient for their purposes,—possibly to keep up their communications, for there are traces of their occupation, at Castlencre on one side, and at Elmham on



the other,—occupied and strengthened them by the addition of embankments in their own mode of construction, which are still to be traced on the other or north side of the road, and, I fancy, to the east. Not far south of this mound there was, not many years since, a line of earthwork, a vallum and fosse, laid down on the Ordnance Map as the “Devil’s Dyke,” but described in old records as *quoddam magnum et antiquum fossatum vocatum Laundicke*, from which the hundred derived its name.¹ I take it these works must have had some connection with each other. A few years ago there was a find of bronze celts in Longham, not far from the Dyke.

The fact of Roman occupation is evidence that this mound and banks were not constructed by the Saxons; indeed, they do not appear to have been raisers of these sort of works, although they doubtless made use of them for the purposes of defence, by erecting stockades of timber; neither are they supposed to have constructed any buildings of stone before the intercourse of the Normans with the island in the time of the Confessor. The Normans were great castle builders; and, after the Conquest, when the estates of the dispossessed Saxon nobility were given by the Conqueror to his followers, they generally availed themselves of these mounds, and erected castles upon them. These castles were of two types. They were either strong square keeps, like those of Norwich and Rising, or a shell encircling the top of the mound, as at Castleacre.

At the time of the Conquest this and the adjoining parishes were the possessions of Archbishop Stigand (who was also Bishop of Elmham), and were his private estate. On his disgrace they were seized by the Conqueror, and at the time of the Domesday Survey were in the king’s

¹ *Launde*, “a plain among trees”—“a parke, a huntynge place”—“a wild untilld shrubbie or bushy plaine.”—*Promptorium Parvulorum*, note s. v. *Dyke*, a bank.

own hands, under the charge of William de Noiers or Nowers. King Henry I. granted them to Alan son of Flaald. I cannot tell you the date, but it was about 1100; and either he or William Fitz Alan, his son, probably raised this castle, for the purpose of protecting his newly-acquired territory, or overawing the Saxon population. Blomefield speaks of it as being of an oval form; but he means the entire area, which he describes as "containing about twelve or thirteen acres, surrounded by two deep ditches or trenches, and in the south part was the keep, with another ditch, where are ruins of walls that crossed the ditch, and the north part was the barbican," and the entrance to have been on the west side.

From a small ground plan and elevation in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1819, it appears that the form of the keep was square. It must have been dismantled at a very early period, for there is no mention of a castle in the records relating to the manor or its possessors. It does not seem to have become the residence of the Fitz Alans, for after John Fitz Alan married the heiress of Albini, temp. Hen. III., they had the castle of Arundel in Sussex.² Mileham continued in the Fitz Alan family until 1559, when the then Earl of Arundel sold it to Sir Thomas Gresham, after whose death it was sold to Sir Thomas Cecil, and by his son exchanged with the Barnwells for an estate in Northamptonshire; and in the Barnwell family Mileham Castle remains at this day, although in a distinct branch from the manor of Mileham and Beeston.

The Lordship of the Hundred of Launditch accompanied this manor until the sale to Gresham, when it was excepted. During the ownership of the Fitz Alans their territorial possessions were several times forfeited to the Crown, by

² Mary, widow of William, Baron Fitz Alan, who died seized in 1215, had Mileham in dower, and I find her called in one record Mary de Melham, which looks as if she did reside here.

the attainder of the earls, and granted to others; but in the course of time restored. In none of these grants, as I have previously remarked, is there any mention of a *castle*. These banks and ditches are described in the title-deeds as the "Hall yards."

The road from Norwich to Lynn is cut through the northern portion of the embankment, and the land on the other side now belongs to the Coke family, but is copyhold of the manor of Mileham. The farm-house opposite is shewn as the birth-place of Sir Edward Coke, but is a modern erection, the manor house of the Cokes was in the wood beyond, called Burgh Wood, where the moat is still to be seen.

I have delayed the delivery of the foregoing paper to our printing committee, considering that it would be unintelligible to a reader, and fail in its purpose, in the absence of a Plan. After many disappointments, I have succeeded in obtaining that given on the opposite page, but I have not had an opportunity of testing its accuracy by personal inspection on the spot. I know that, owing to the carting away of the banks in some places, and the cutting of drains, the surveyor has found a difficulty in laying down the irregular horseshoe-formed entrenchments with perfect accuracy. Of the rectangular work the remaining traces are slight but quite distinguishable. Their extent from east to west is 208 yards, from the north-west angle to the road 126 yards. The plan, referred to as given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1819, Part ii. p. 513, shews an extensive fosse, which, proceeding from the point *f*, in the present plan, encircled the whole of the works, south of the road, but it is not visible now. See dotted line.

About 230 yards to the north of the north-east angle of

the Roman work I am told there is a pit or basin called "Our Ladye's Pit." I have not seen it myself, but it is described to me as a complete bowl, about 22 feet in diameter.

On some Customs in the Manor of Mileham and Beeston.

It may not be considered impertinent to a description of the ancient castle and head of the Honour of Mileham, to notice here some peculiar manorial customs, derived from a *Custumariam*, in Latin, which, although written in 1616, was evidently copied from one of much earlier date, when Richard, son of John Fitz-Alan, was Earl of Arundel and Lord of this Honour, 1272—1301. Such customs tend to exemplify the social condition and usages of "long ago."

There was in every manor an officer called by the English name of *Heyward*. This word has two significations; one, the common herd-ward of a town or village, who overlooked the common herd; the other, the heyward of the lord of the manor, who was regularly sworn in at the court, took care of the tillage, paid the labourers, and looked after trespassers and encroachments.¹ It is the latter official, in the *Customary* called *Messor*, in an English translation *Heyward*, I now treat of.

There were in this manor two Messors, one for Mileham, one for Beeston, whose duty was to collect the rents of assize and attend the courts; and on each court day were to dine with the steward, or receive from the lord three-

¹ Bishop Kennet's *Glossarial Collections*, referred to in *Promptorium Parvulorum*.

Heyward, agellarius, abigeus, messor.—*Ib.* s. v.

Refare, hervystman, messor.—*Ib.* s. v.

pence, viz., one penny and a halfpenny each,—the price of a good dinner at that time. They were chosen at the Lete by the homage, but by the custom of the manor the choice was to be made from the tenants of the greatest ability and knowledge,—*qui optime possunt et sciunt*,—without regard to quantity of tenure, but only to the person, being always a tenant, and never by rotation of the tenements, as in most other manors; and the rent of the messor *pro tem.* was remitted in consideration of his service.

The messor of Mileham was to overlook the mowers of the lord's hay and the spreading it out, and help to make it, and for so doing was entitled to as much hay as on the foot of each haymaker² could be inclosed within a hayband of the length of one ell and the half of a quarter of an ell. He was also to overlook the reapers of the lord's corn in harvest, and always to sit at table with the lord's bailiff at dinner, and have for his wages two shillings; and he was to have all the herbage within the lord's growing corn in summer time, in the ways, fences,³ pits, and ditches.

The customary fine payable on a surrender by a copyhold tenant was only one ploughshare, and the same was given upon every admission to a copyhold estate; but whenever a surrender was made upon a sale, the person nearest in blood to the surrenderor in hereditary descent was entitled to the pre-emption, and on payment of the purchase-money and fulfilling the conditions of the agreement between the vendor and intended purchaser, to be admitted to the tenement; and if he had not notice of the proposed alienation before the court, he was to have time until the next court given him for payment.

² *Tantum fani in pedo cujuslibet tassatoris.* *Tassator* appears to mean one who tossed hay upon the cock, or pitched it on the stack.

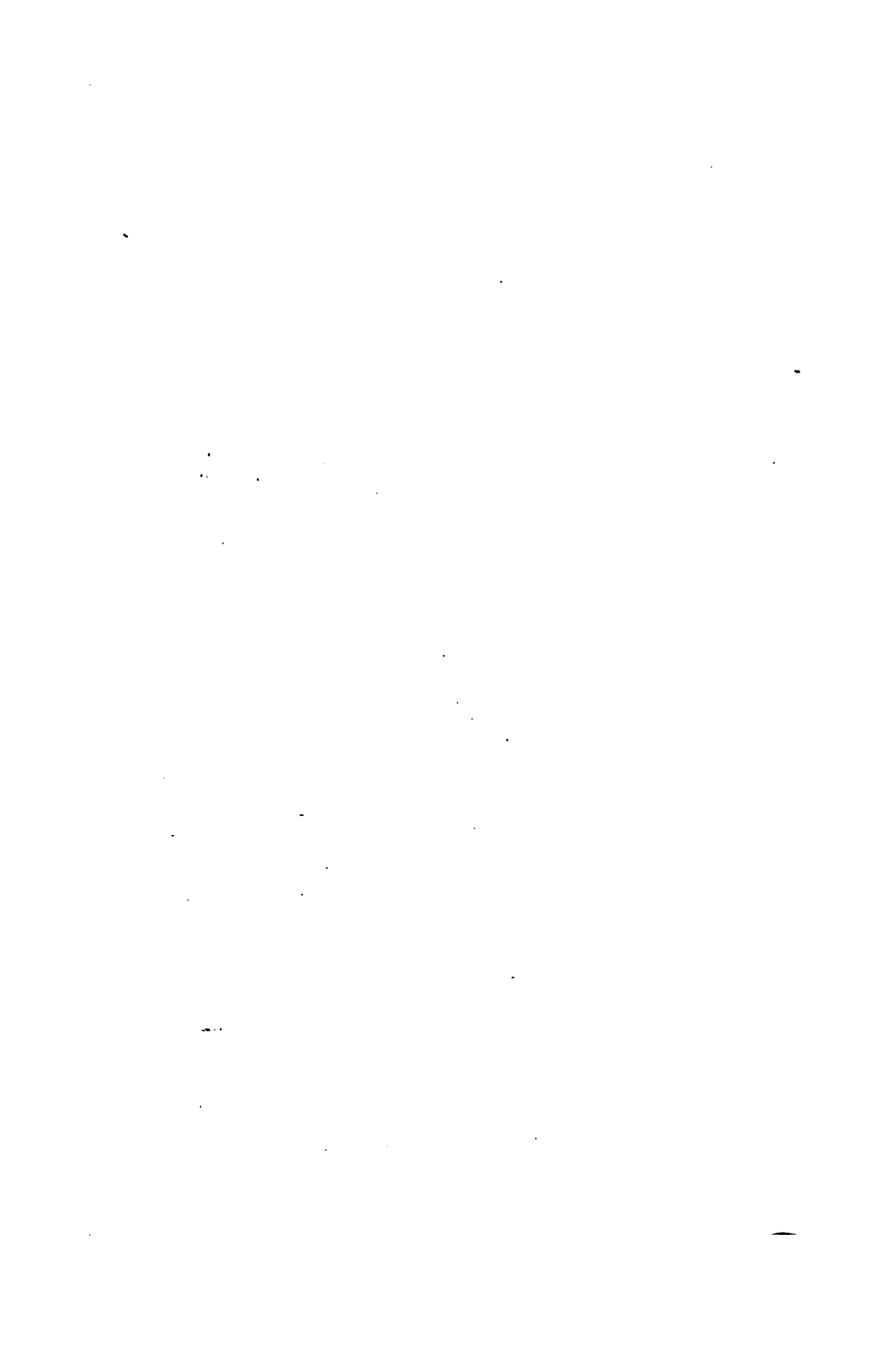
³ The word is *divisis*,—probably the mire-balks or grass ridges dividing lands in the common field.

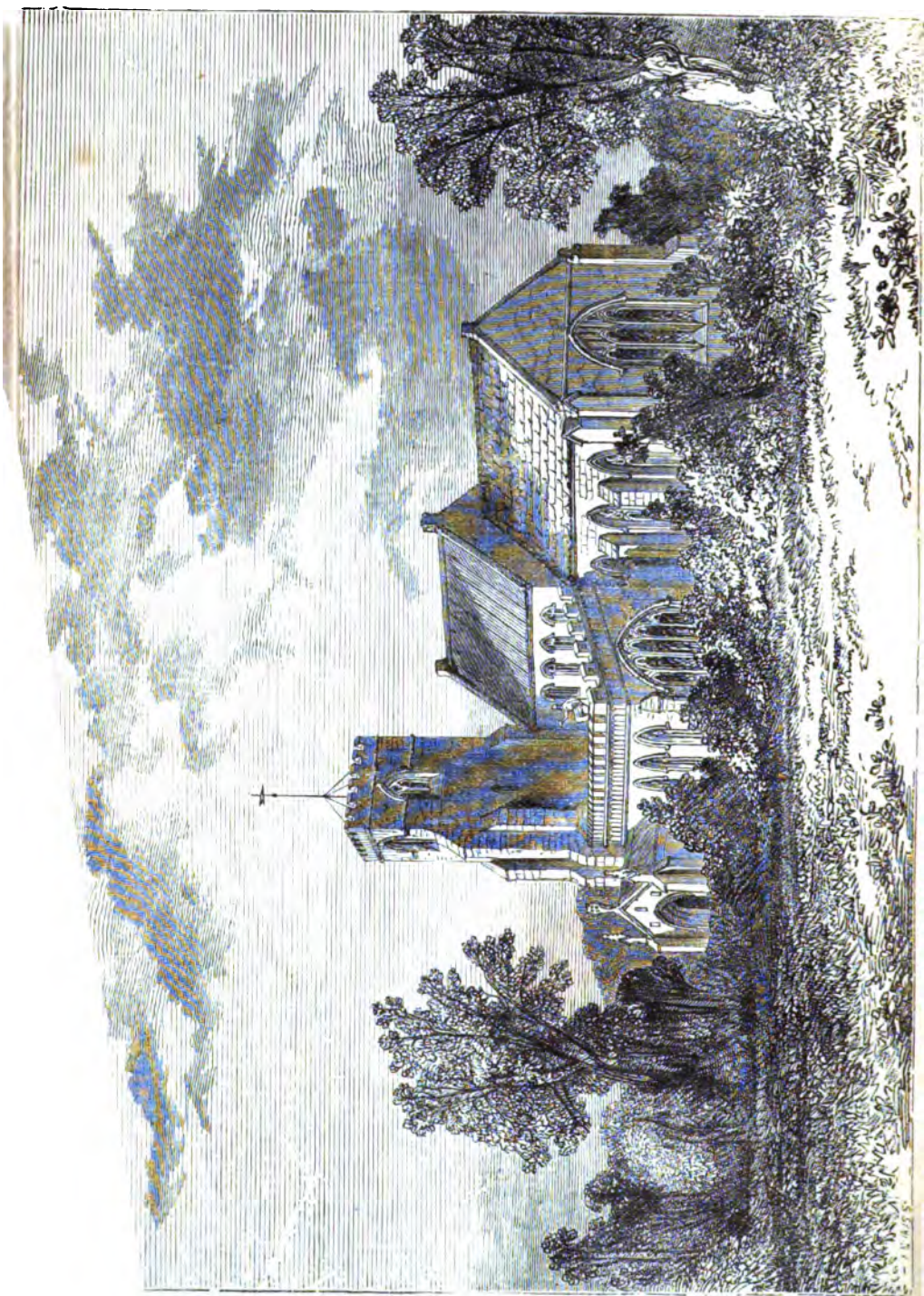
Copyhold tenants having daughters dwelling with them, were not allowed to marry them out of the manor, without the lord's leave, or making redemption; and if any tenant would take a wife out of the manor, he must have license from the bailiff. Rather hard this!

If the heir of a deceased tenant was a minor, he was to be placed in charge of the next of kin of the deceased, who was not in the line of heirship. The reason of the exclusion is obvious.

These appear to be the only customs worthy of notice. Respecting the fine: those of our members who were with me in Beeston church in 1871, will remember the *plough-share* painted upon a boss in the roof over the entrance, and may read in Blomefield that it was formerly accompanied by a quatrain,—“This share doth shew the manor fine,” &c.; which was concluded by “Lord Barnwell, see thou keep it:” and the same implement carved in one of the spandrils on a panel of that exquisite screen.

G. A. C.







NORMAN FONT FORMERLY IN HARPLEY CHURCH.

Notes on Harpley Church.

COMMUNICATED BY

MRS. HERBERT JONES.

WHILE following the old Roman road which leads from Brancaster to Swaffham,—known as Pedder's Way,—leaving behind the desolate sea coast from which it starts, and passing through some miles of flat and open country, a spot is reached, now a triangle of grass defined by more recent tracks, but where a stream of water indicates that in remote days a halting place for Roman travellers was established. From this spot a rising ground is discernible, diversifying the monotony of the surrounding country by pleasant undulation, picturesque meadow, and shadowy timber. There stands the village of Harpley, crowned and ornamented by a church whose beauties, although attractive

enough at a distance, are best appreciated on a nearer view, comprising as it does a rather unusual number of interesting details,—stories in stones, and choice specimens of window, door, and archway, screen and frieze.

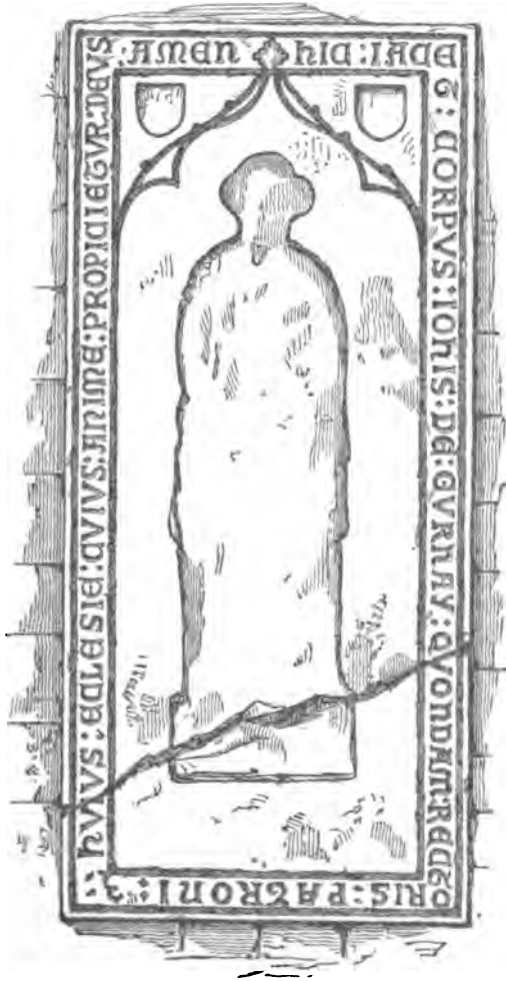
The church appears to have been built at different dates, ranging from the earlier part of the fourteenth century to a period some hundred years later, and is popularly attributed to the same generous hand which raised its neighbour church of Sculthorpe; the arms of Sir Robert Knollys being to this day preserved inside and out of the church, two small coloured shields in wood, bearing his arms and those of his wife, flanking the entrance to the chancel; whilst a long array of carved stone shields, including his own, enriches the battlements which surmount the south aisle.

Some few of these armorial bearings,—those connected with the history of Sir Robert Knollys' life during the campaigns of the Black Prince, under whom he served,—are the same as the arms which were placed by him in the church at Sculthorpe, and which are known as having existed there by the minute account given of them by the writer of the old manuscript, *Visitation of Norfolk Churches*.¹ It is fortunate, since Harpley was overlooked by this traveller and observer of nearly three centuries ago, that its fair display of heraldry should have been so durably recorded in stone; so that the shields remain to tell their own story, whilst those in the other churches whose description is handed down to us have long since crumbled away.

Although Blomefield attributes Harpley Church generally to Sir Robert Knollys in the following words—"The church has a nave, a north and south aisle, and a chancel, and was built by Sir Robert Knollys, a famous general in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. in the wars in

¹ By Henry Chitting. 1600 to 1620.

France, whose arms are painted on the screens as you enter the chancel”²—yet much of it is before his time,



or rather before that period of his life when he was connected with Norfolk, and probably some of its earlier features are the work of the Gurneys, who had held the

² Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 8vo. ed., vol. viii. p. 458.

advowson since 1184, and had possessed property in the place from a slightly previous date.

One of this family, John de Gurney, was priest and rector from about 1294 until 1332, and in the chancel is a marble tomb, originally inlaid with a brass, which has this inscription, "Hic jacet corpus Joh'is de Gurnay, quondam Rectoris Patronique hujus ecclesie, cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen." About forty years ago the lid of this tomb was accidentally displaced,³ and underneath, about a foot and a half from the surface, a figure was revealed, clad in a silk priest's robe, and holding in its hand a sacramental cup; from which the stillness of five hundred years had only stolen silently the flesh from the bones and the gilding from the cup, all else remaining unimpaired.

It was probably by this rector, or the succeeding members of the family to which he belonged, that the chancel—abounding in the graceful tracery of the Decorated period,—some part of the south aisle, and the oak nave roof, adorned with figures of angels holding shields (on which the Gurney coat of arms occurs) were raised; whilst the north aisle, the carved oaken screen dividing church from chancel, and the elaborate frieze and battlement on the south aisle appear to be of a later date and the work of other hands.

John de Gurney, the priest, and inheritor of the family estate there, lived some forty years as Rector of Harpley, and during that time added considerably to his possessions by the purchase of land in different parts of Norfolk, and by the acquisition in Harpley of such manors as were not the property of the Calthorpes. He, long before the time when Sir Robert Knollys emerged from youth and obscurity in Cheshire to gain glory in the wars of France, and afterwards in his old age to lay his honours and riches at the feet of the Church, was living in wealth and prosperity at

³ *Record of the House of Gournay*, page 346. The above incident occurred in September, 1829.

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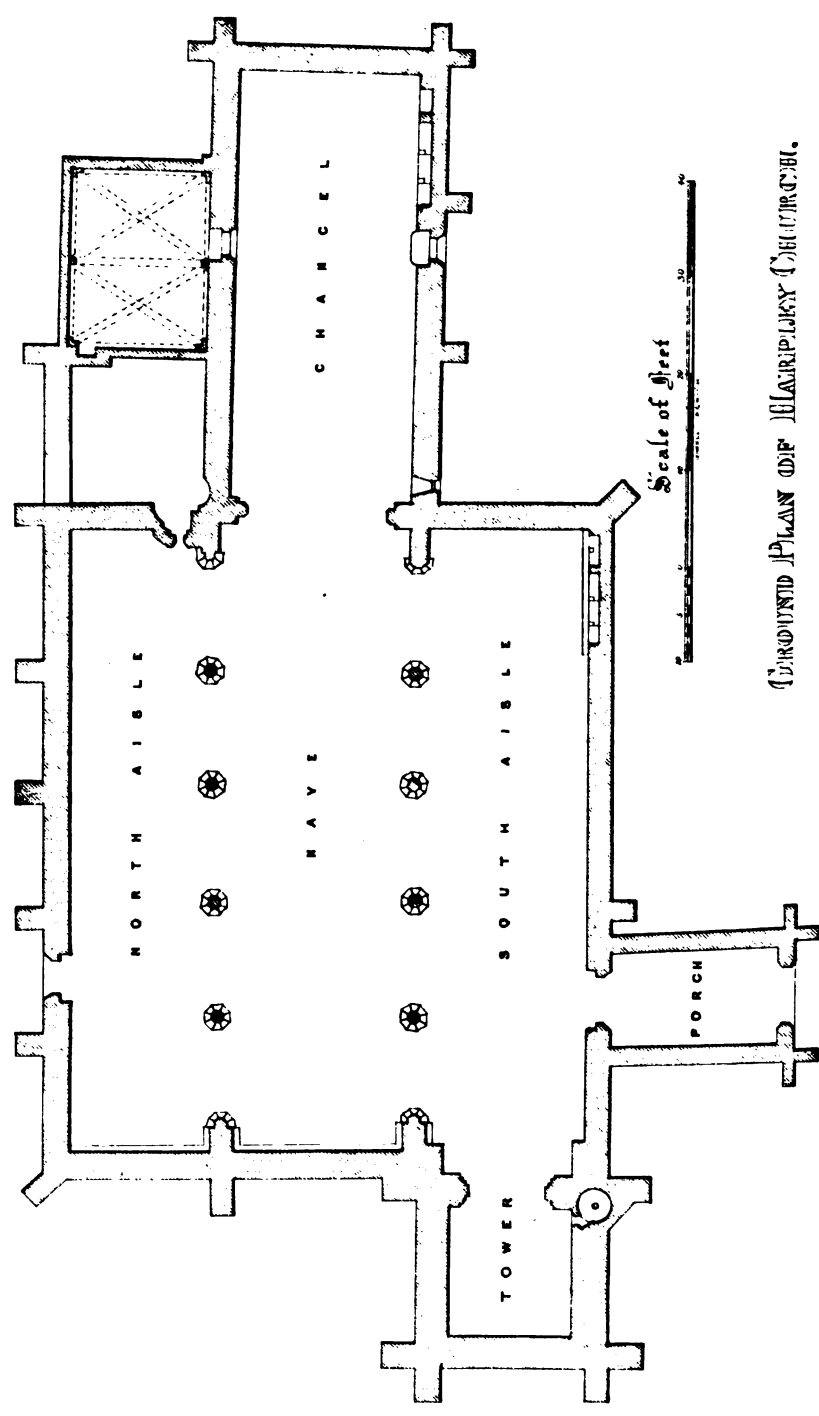
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GROUND PLAN OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

Harpley, where the beautifying and enlargement of the church may be fairly supposed to have occupied his attention, and to have resulted in those portions of the building which coincide with his date,—the early years of the fourteenth century.

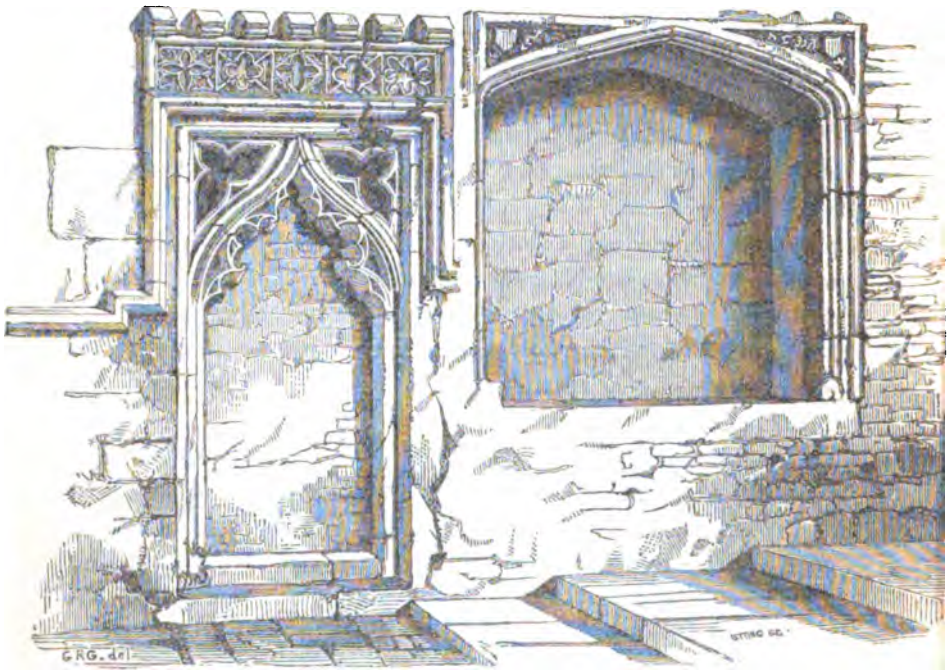
Following the accompanying ground plan, it appears that a chapel, containing some elegant sedilia and a piscina, occupied the end of the south aisle. Directly opposite this, at the western end of the aisle, stands the tower. Between them are the four Decorated windows of the south aisle, and a richly-carved oaken door, ornamented with mitred figures, opening into the porch. Outside, and above the south windows, is however distinctly visible the line where, at a later period, the wall was raised with fresh masonry in order to place upon it the ornamental frieze and battlements whose coats of arms indicate that this addition was made subsequently; although it is quite possible that the figure of a priest, seated, holding a book, and with a dog at his feet, which terminates the battlement, may, if not the portraiture of a contemporary rector or of some noted ecclesiastic, have been placed there in commemoration of John de Gurney, who so long and to such good purpose dwelt in the vicinity of the church.

The chancel appears to be almost entirely of the earlier date, (the first half of the fourteenth century) and contains, on the south side, sedilia and a piscina, and three Decorated windows, the easternmost of which is identical, in the form of its tracery and internal mouldings, with one in the vestry of Merton College chapel at Oxford, the date of that vestry (an addition to the chapel) being 1310.⁴

Besides these, and the priest's door, there is also in the south side of the chancel a small square opening, supposed to have been pierced with the object of handing out food to

⁴ Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, vol. iii. p. 107.

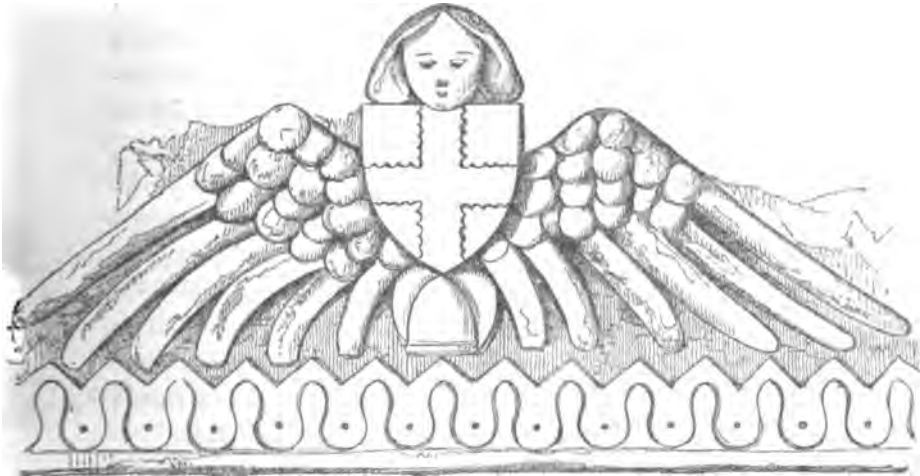
the unfortunate lepers of those days, and through which, perhaps, these hapless outcasts, feebly basking in the rays of the early spring sun, peered at the strange mock interment and resurrection enacted in the Easter sepulchre opposite,—an arched recess in the north wall, which, just above the chancel steps, is placed close to a beautifully enriched doorway leading into the Sacristy. This was a building some 19 ft. by 15 ft. in size, with a groined roof springing from slender pillars. These are unfortunately



broken off, and the roof they supported has disappeared. Although traditionally the sacristy or vestry, and doubtless used as such, the early character of the remaining piers has led to the supposition that this may have been originally

the aisle of a previous chancel. The position of the arches also favours this idea. Next to the sacristy, and still more defaced and ruined, are the remains of a further enclosure, occupying the space up to the end of the north aisle. This, judging from the piscina which still exists about four feet from the east end, was once a chapel, entered from the north aisle; the doorway and the stone staircase leading up to the rood-loft are yet visible, many fragments of the steps remaining.

The nave of the church contains a fine oak roof, bordered with a rich cornice of carved cherubs, holding shields, most of which bore the Gurney coat of arms,—Argent, a cross engrailed gules,—whilst other figures of angels look down from the uppermost ridge of the roof, in delicate light and shadow from the large clerestory windows just beneath.



Such are the results, briefly enumerated, of the earlier labour bestowed upon this church; but gradually, as years went on, traces began to appear of other lives and other hands, whose interest and work seem to have gathered

around its walls, and we find the Cheshire knight, Sir Robert Knollys, appearing on the stage, and leaving characteristic touches on the building. With him, too, is associated a priest, John Drewe, (to whose name the same coat of arms has been occasionally attributed as that borne by the Knollys family). He was rector of Harpley from 1389 to 1421, and was clerk or chaplain to Sir Robert Knollys, whom he survived fourteen years, and whose will he proved in 1407. He shared with him the patronage of several Norfolk livings, and received from him the gift of others. He seems to have been a man of some efficiency, of whose sympathies and benefactions we have fragmentary glimpses. He probably lived at Harpley,—his usual designation is “parson of Harpley,”—and although holding Northwold, Houghton, Moundford, and other preferments, he selected Harpley as his burial place, directing that he should be interred “between two pillars near the pulpit.”⁵ Northwold church is said to have been restored by him, and at Swaffham there still exists the record of a gift of his to the church there. It is contained in a curious old manuscript volume, “The Black Book of Swaffham,” so designated from its black binding, the date of which is 1454, and which gives an account of the lands belonging to the church, an inventory of the vestments and plate, &c. It is partly written in Latin, partly in English. It includes a list of such persons as had been “benefactors to that church, and for whom mass was to be sung annually,” and in this list, John Drewe’s name occurs: “Also for y^e soule of Syr John Drew, sutyme psun of harple which geve here 1 vestment for 1 prest of bordalisander.”

He, no doubt, also greatly assisted in the progress of Harpley church. An instance of his solicitude for his parishioners is mentioned by Blomefield: in 1420 he obtained from the bishop of Norwich permission to change the

⁵ Blomefield, under “Northwold.”

day of celebrating the consecration of the church from All Souls' Day to the Sunday following that feast, "in order that all the parish might attend the services,"—an example of judicious concession to the circumstances and convenience of the parishioners worthy of notice.

He, and Sir Robert Knollys,—the origin of whose connection with Norfolk is obscure, although his will, which has been discovered within the last year at Lambeth,⁶ shows how substantial was his interest in the county,—the Walpoles at Houghton, the Calthorpes, who had a manor in Harpley, and the Gurneys, who still held their property there, were they, who, from their residence or neighbourhood, contributed doubtless to the welfare of the fabric, and are commemorated by the appearance on the battlements of their several coats of arms.

This ornamental stone heading to the south aisle consists of, first, a series of small trefoil-headed arches, forming a frieze, and above, nineteen battlements, on each of which are carved two shields with two small arches between; the shields containing the following arms:—

On the first battlement, at the western end, the arms of Constance Beverley, Lady Knollys—a fess dancette between three leopards' heads. These latter, however, are indistinctly carved, and appear like roses; but the Beverley arms are associated with those of Sir Robert Knollys inside the church, and were impaled with his repeatedly in Sculthorpe

⁶ Mr. J. Wharton Jones, F.R.S., &c., &c., thus describes it in an article on the Knollys family in the *Herald and Genealogist* for January, 1874: "I have had the opportunity of seeing these documents (the wills of Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Knolles) in the library of Lambeth Palace. Sir Robert Knolles left two wills, (Archbishop Arundel's Registers, vol. i. ff. 245—9) the one in Latin, dated October 21, 1399, and the other in French, dated May 20, 1404. Both were proved at Lambeth in February, 1407. Sir Robert leaves his property chiefly for religious and charitable uses, and provides for prayers for his own soul, the soul of his very dear wife Constance, and all Christian souls. He does not refer to any children."

and other churches, and this shield was doubtless intended to represent them. The second shield on this battlement is that of the Gurneys—a cross engrailed.



On the second battlement, twice repeated, a gridiron, the emblem of St. Laurence the martyr, to whom the church is dedicated.

On the third battlement the following: A fess between three cinquefoils, and the well-known arms of Sir Robert

Knollys—on a chevron three roses. This same coat has also been assigned to the Drew family,⁷ although not that usually borne by the Drews of Norfolk; and if, as is most probable, this shield is in honour of Sir Robert Knollys, it at any rate bears also upon its sculptured surface a possible suggestion of the memory of that rector of Harpley who assisted in the embellishment of the south aisle, and whose dust still moulders beneath it.

On the fourth battlement the arms of the Earls Warren. On the fifth, Quarterly, a bendlet, the arms of De Lacy. Mr. Boutell mentions a seal of John de Laci, Earl of Lincoln 1235, with the above arms; and one of the shields in Westminster Abbey bears the arms of the Earl of Lincoln,—Quarterly, or and gules, with a narrow black bendlet; although in that example the bendlet is sinister, and a label is introduced. An instance of the De Lacy arms occurring in Norfolk is given by Blomefield, who describes a painting on wood of some figures in the old hall at Riddlesworth near Thetford, which was standing in his time. Two of the figures are, Johannes de Lacy, Constable of Chester, and Roger de Lacy; and above the figures their arms,—Quarterly, a bendlet. Sir Robert Knollys may have placed this shield here in consequence of the relation in which he stood towards the De Lacys, who were Lords of Pontefract.⁸ William the Conqueror had “conferred the great fee of Pontefract on Ilbert de Lacy;”⁹ a descendant became Earl of Lincoln in 1221. The last of the line left an only daughter, married to Thomas Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster. Sir Robert Knollys was closely connected with Pontefract. From there came his “very dear wife Con-

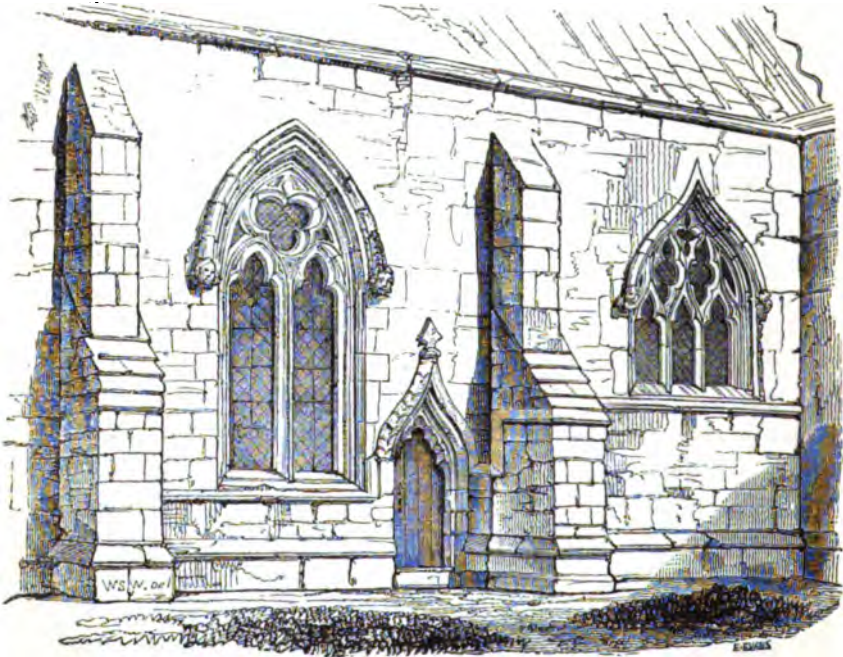
⁷ “*Drew* (1426), On a chevron ar. three roses of the field, seeded and barbed ppr. *Drew*, Gu. on a chevron argent three roses of the first seeded or.”—Burke’s *General Armory*.

⁸ Dugdale’s *Monasticon*, vol. i. p. 854.

⁹ Whittaker’s *Whalley*, chap. i.

stance," and it was there that he established the college and hospital which in Queen Elizabeth's time were still called "Knolles' alms-houses."

On the sixth battlement both shields are alike,—a cross lozengy (or fusilly), Gifford, De la Hache, or, according to Mr. J. G. Nichols, De Ufford. Mr. Nichols, in his remarks upon this shield,¹ observes that "in blazon the lozengy form has frequently coincided with the engrailed, the latter being



in fact the modern treatment of the former." He instances the coat of the De Uffords, which is usually (as described in the Calais Roll of Edward III., and as it remains in

¹ *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. v., containing a paper on the "Armorial Battlements of Harpley Church, Norfolk."

many churches in Norfolk), Sable, a cross engrailed or. But Mr. Nichols gives a quotation, pointing out that "the coat of Robert Ufforde is drawn as Or, a cross fusilly sable, in the thirteenth century rolls, edited by Walford and Perceval." The arms of "Ufford" are also described in Burke's *General Armory* as "Sable, a cross lozengy or." It is therefore not improbable that this shield was intended as a tribute to the Uffords, who were a family of eminence in Norfolk, and possessed large estates in the county: perhaps in recognition of Sir Robert Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, the contemporary of Sir Robert Knollys, whose name appears among the Norfolk knights commemorated by Sir Thomas Erpingham, some years later, in the painted glass window in one of the Norwich churches, and who so narrowly escaped from the multitude of insurgents who overran the neighbourhood of Norwich at the time of Wat Tyler's insurrection. He appears on this occasion, whatever may have been his previous title to distinction, to have deemed discretion the better part of valour, and to have left Costessey secretly, "rising suddenly from supper, and taking his journey through woods and deserts to the King, feigning himself to be servant to Sir Robert de Boys, and carrying a wallet behind him."

To return to those more nearly connected with Harpley. The next shield in order on the battlement,—a fess between two chevrons,—is probably intended for Walpole, although sculptured without the addition of the cross crosslets. On the seal of an early deed recently found at Houghton the arms are thus impressed. The Walpoles were in the immediate neighbourhood; and later, in 1642, they acquired the manors in Harpley which had belonged to the Gurneys.

On the eighth battlement, three chevronels, Clare. The ninth bears shields with three cinquefoils, the arms of the Bardolf family; one of whom, Thomas, Lord Bardolf, died in battle in 1405; another, just one hundred years earlier,

is thus noticed in the ancient poem describing the siege of Carlaverock :—

“ Hue Bardolf de grant maniere,
Riches hom, prous e courtois,
En asure quintfuelles trois,
Portoit de fin or esmero.”²

Another, Robert Bardolf, Knight, in his will dated 1395, “giveth to many churches reparations.”³

The tenth battlement displays the shield which was placed by Sir Robert Knollys in Sculthorpe and other Norfolk churches,—Cromer, Moundford, and North Barsham,—but to which no name has been assigned by the two chroniclers, Blomefield and Chitting, who describe it,—a fess engrailed between three Catherine wheels. It has been attributed to “Casteler” in Glover’s *Ordinary*. The second shield on this battlement is,—a fess between three mallets.⁴

On the eleventh battlement, twice repeated, the “arms of peace” of the Black Prince, as described by himself in his will, and destined by him to be placed, on a sable field, alternately with his escutcheon of war, around his tomb at Canterbury. The two chargers which, according to Edward’s dying wishes, were to precede his body in its progress to the grave, were ordered to be accoutred, one with “nos armez entiers quartellez,” the other with the arms “pur la paix, de nos bages des plumes d’ostruce,” the latter the array used by the Prince in the jousts and tournaments of the peaceful intervals of his life.⁵

On the twelfth battlement the insignia of St. Laurence appear again twice over.

The next presents two shields: gyronny of twelve, Basingbourne; and a bend between six cross crosslets, Howard.

² Emaillé, or enamelled.

³ *Record of the House of Gournay*, page 190.

⁴ Pigott, Browne, or Bloodman.

⁵ *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, note at page 140.

The coat of the Bassingbournes is repeated further on as gyronny of eight, and the latter modification also once existed in coloured glass in one of the windows inside the church, accompanying the arms of De Noiers and Gournay.⁶ In a manuscript dated March 25th, 1655, but in which the name of the author is not recorded, containing a large number of coats of arms illuminated on vellum,⁷ the Bassingbourne arms are given four times; twice gyronny of twelve pieces, for "Bassingbourne" and "the Baron Bassingbourne, K. John;" and twice gyronny of eight, "Sir John Bassingbourne of Hertfordshire," and "for Bassingbourne of Cambridgeshire." Similar variations in the bearing of this family are commented on by Mr. J. G. Nichols in his paper before quoted, and evidence given of their having been used by its different members.

On the fourteenth battlement, a fesse between three cross crosslets; Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. This shield was also placed in Sculthorpe church, but there charged with the usual device, a fesse between six cross crosslets. Up to the beginning of the fourteenth century the coat was semée of cross-crosslets. There seems to be in two or three of these carved shields some slight uncertainty or want of definiteness in the design, as, for example, in the shields of Beverley and Ufford, although the actual sculpture is clear, beautiful, and unimpaired in every instance.

On the fifteenth battlement are the six escallop shells of Scales, and next to the arms, "gyronny of eight," before alluded to, is a shield twice repeated,—Paly, on a sinister canton a lion passant. In Glover's *Ordinary*, under the name "De Longcaster," is described a coat,—“Paly of six, argent and gules, on a canton of the last a lion passant

⁶ *Norris MSS. Church Collections*, Harpley; also Blomefield. See woodcut at conclusion of Paper.

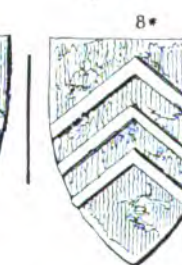
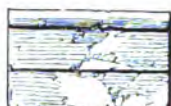
⁷ This MS. originally belonged to Mr. Gouter, of Dennington near Woodbridge, and has been in the possession of the Marsham family since 1776.

guardant of the first."⁸ This resembles the shield placed here; but in the *Siege of Carlaverock*, among the long lists of the banners of those knights who accompanied Edward I. in the Scottish expedition, that of "John de Lancaster" is blazoned as "Barry, on a canton a leopard or." Sir Harris Nicolas gives a short account of the De Lancasters in his translation of the *Siege of Carlaverock*, and asserts that the name "De Lancaster" originated with one of the family, who was governor of Lancaster Castle in the reign of Henry II. John de Lancaster, who died in 1334, was one of the king's serjeants in the county of Chester. "Upon his death the barony became extinct and authorities affirm that his nephew, John de Lancaster, was his next heir."⁹ There are some traces in Norfolk of this family. John de Lancaster was Rector of Titchwell from 1349 to 1360;¹ and at Dunton church is a monument to one of the race, giving a quaint description of their importance, but it is difficult to discern their connection with Harpley at the time of the erection of the frieze. If not De Lancaster, it has been suggested that this coat of arms may be a foreign one. The many years spent by Sir Robert Knollys on the continent, and his numerous companions in arms, make it not impossible that, among a collection of shields so unconnected and varied, but of which the history of his life gives the key, such a coat might have been inserted. Quite as probable is the idea that the shield is an impaled one; two pales impaling another coat,—Paly of six, on a chief a lion passant guardant. Many English families are known as bearing each of these charges, but the alliance in question, and some motive for the presence of the arms

⁸ See the copy of Glover's *Ordinary* in Barry's *Encyclopædia Heraldica*, page 161.

⁹ *The Siege of Carlaverock*, with a Translation and Memoirs, by Harris Nicolas, Esq.

¹ Blomefield, vol. x. p. 397.



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among this series, must be given before the shield can be identified.

On the eighteenth battlement are carved the shields of Calthorpe and De Burnham.

The De Burnhams, a younger branch of the house of Warren, and who possessed Harpley in the reign of Stephen, left two heiresses, who, in the twelfth century, by their marriages with Matthew de Gournay and Sir William de Calthorpe, divided their inheritance of Harpley between those two families.¹ The Calthorpes have always borne the arms of Warren with the difference of a fesse ermine,² and the De Burnhams the arms of Warren with a crescent. The history of the place, with its successive possessors—Warren, De Burnham, Calthorpe—is thus picturesquely shewn by this one battlement; an instance of the truth and conciseness with which heraldry can tell its tale.

On the nineteenth battlement, a plain cross. Perhaps to commemorate the Knights Hospitallers, whose scarlet sur-tout, worn above their armour, was decorated with a straight silver cross; but, more likely than in remembrance of the priestly soldiers, this shield was meant to be in honour of Sir Ralph Shelton, who had been present at the battles of Crescy and Poitiers, or of some member of that "right worshipful family of Shelton," as Guillim describes it, whose distinction in war and whose position in Norfolk were both doubtless well known to Sir Robert Knollys.

And then, lastly, the emblem of St. Laurence once more, finishing the series.

These shields, which bear such strong evidence of having been placed here by Sir Robert Knollys,—the date, the tribute to the Black Prince, the similarity of five of the shields to those put up by him in his own church at Scul-

¹ *Record of the House of Gournay*, p. 308.

² Or, in one instance, that of some painted glass in Lord Calthorpe's possession, a canton ermine.

St. Anne and the Virgin Mary with a book. On the right hand towards the south are six panels, which contain, beginning with that adjoining "St. Anne," figures of prophets, the name in most cases inscribed on a scroll appearing from behind the head—Jonas, Jeremias, Joel, Osee, Ezechiel, and Malachias. On the left hand, or that part of the screen extending towards the north, beginning with the panel next to the Virgin and Child,—Daniel, Abdias, Michæas, Amos, Isaias, and Zacharias.

But it is impossible, without a coloured illustration, to give a satisfactory impression of the details, or to convey the effect and attitudes of the subjects in these panels; the whole screen indeed requires description by a qualified hand, and is well worthy of a separate notice.

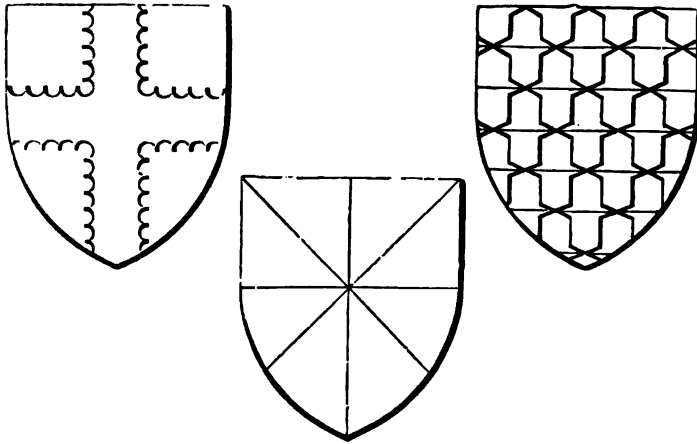


Turning away from it, and from the beautiful chancel behind it,—passing by the quaint poppy-heads adorning the seats, and through the ancient oaken door, whose worm-eaten bishops and angels still darkly glimmer, touched by a bar of

sunshine,—the porch is reached, which is worth noticing before bidding adieu to the church ; elegant in structure and proportion, although of later date than the aisle to which it is attached ; not, as in the instance of Massingham, surmounted by an upper story, which, in that neighbouring church, was eventually turned to such strange account as the school-room of Sir Robert Walpole, whither he repaired daily from Houghton in his boyhood to receive the first impulse towards the development of an unsuspected mind,—but of more simple elevation, projecting fifteen feet beyond the south aisle, decorated at several points with small carved roses, the gable surmounted by a cross, the walls pierced with an open arcade of delicate masonry, and the entrance arch surrounded with three niches, once filled, no doubt, with images of some forgotten saints, but which, deserted now, seem more useful in their silent protest than when they formed a shelter for the objects of a questionable reverence. It is exceedingly probable that this reverence was discouraged, and the figures perhaps themselves removed, by a certain rector who lived at Harpley during a part of the seventeenth century, Edmond Gurney, whose feeling or prejudice was so strong against images as to lead him to write a treatise on the subject, taking Exodus xxxiv. 14, as his text ; the work, a “Homily against Images in Churches,” was published at the University Press, in 1639. He was evidently a person of much quaintness and decision of character, as described by Fuller in his “Worthies,” and was one of those clergy who accepted “the Covenant” in 1643. His sympathies were strongly with the Puritans, and a story is recorded of his refusing to preach in a surplice, and, when rebuked by the Bishop of Norwich and ordered “to wear it always,” humorously donning it during a long journey on horseback. A curious inscription outside the chancel wall at Harpley, commemorating a child, whose Christian name was “Protestant,” is supposed to have been his composition.

But in spite of these traces of a Puritan spirit, the building was apparently as carefully cherished by him as by his more reverent ancestors, to judge by the large proportion of it which is handed down to us uninjured, and in excellent preservation.

The porch forms, whether with or without its adjuncts, a fitting entrance, and the church remains, as far as its outward structure is concerned, a store-house of architectural beauties, and a most interesting record, from its abounding heraldic details, of some of the local and historical incidents connected with the later days of the fourteenth century.



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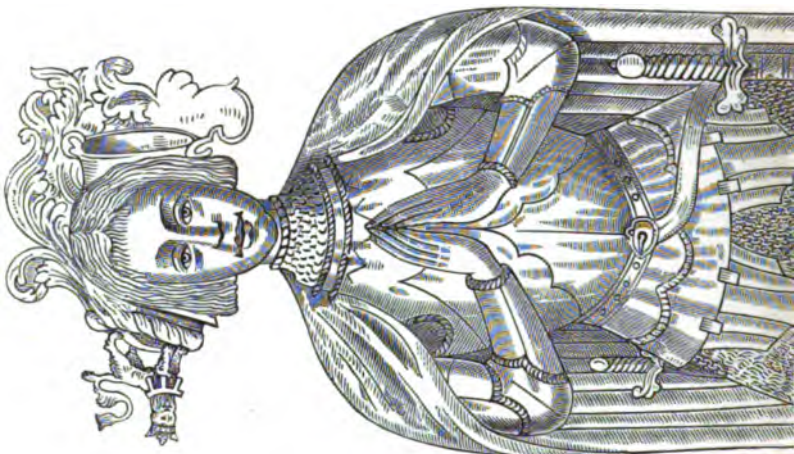
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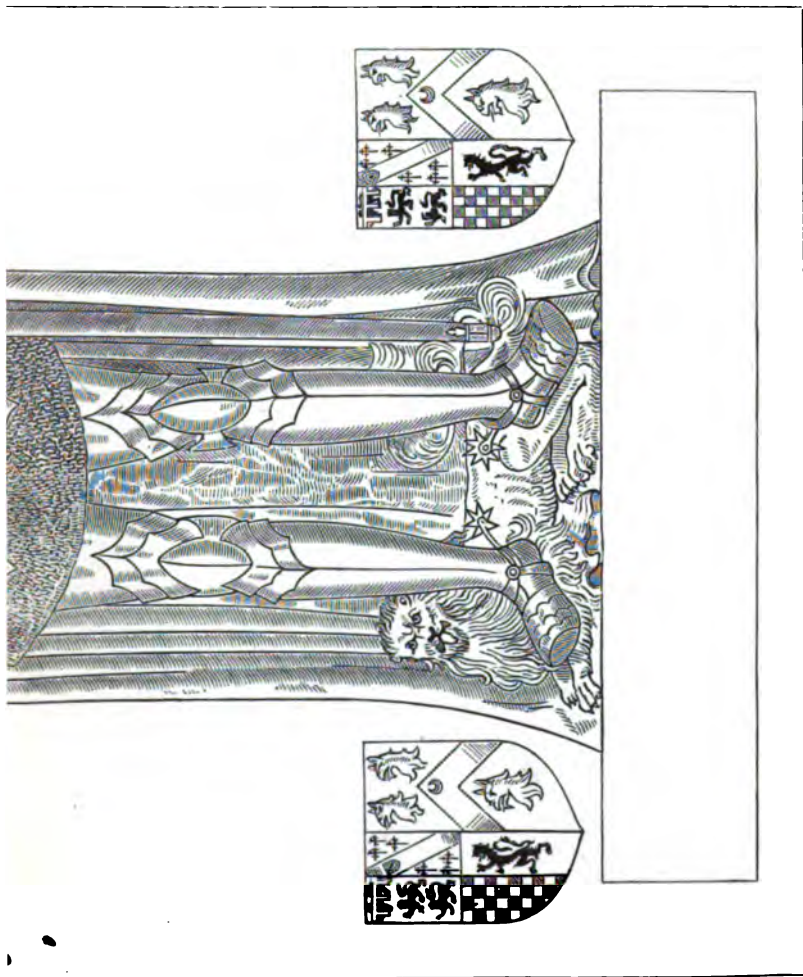
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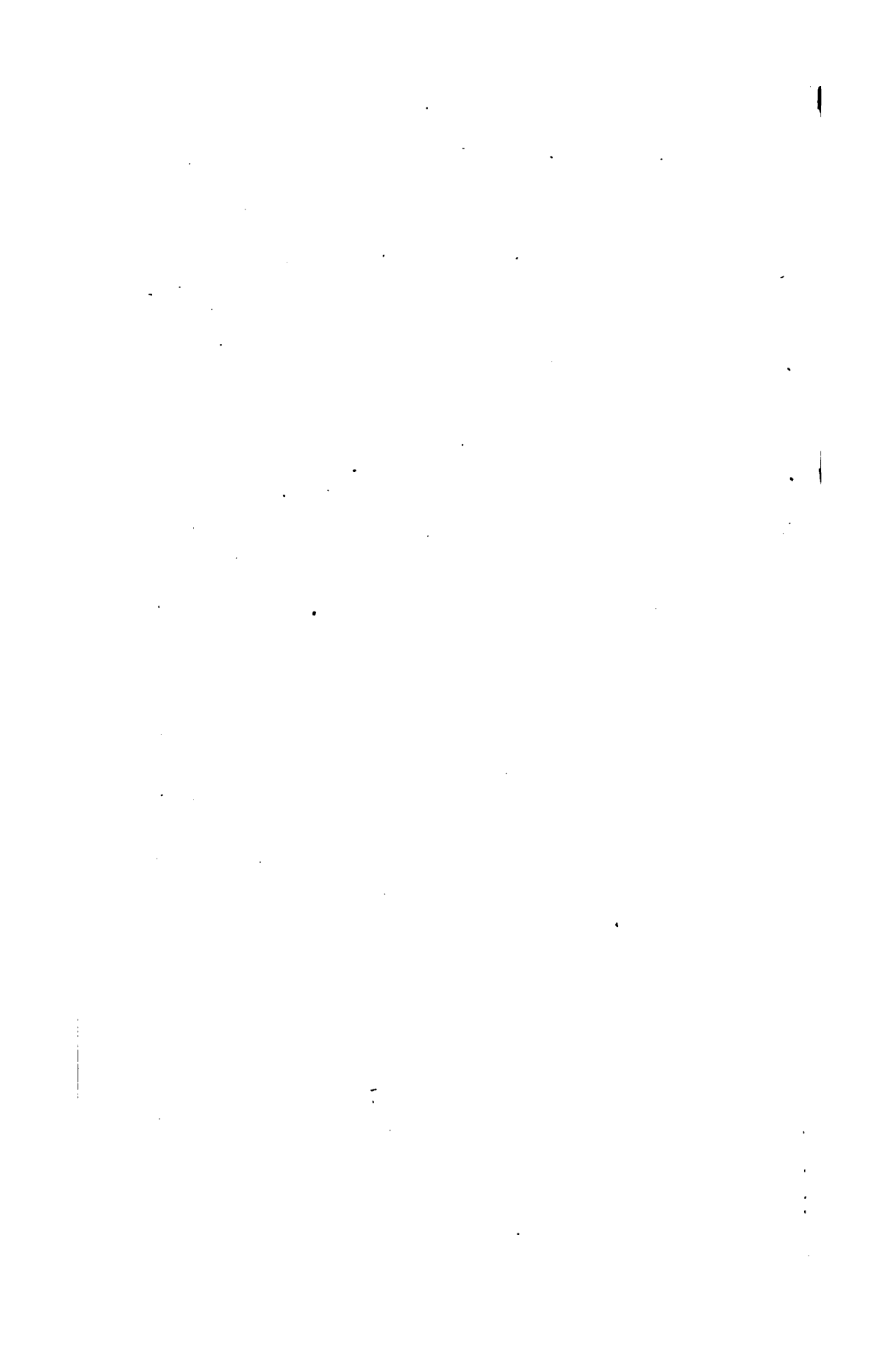
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BRASS OF THOMAS, SECOND DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., 1524.
FORMERLY IN LAMBETH CHURCH, SURREY.



Brasses
OF
THOMAS HOWARD, SECOND DUKE OF NORFOLK,
AND AGNES HIS WIFE (1524);
FORMERLY IN LAMBETH CHURCH, SURREY, AND SUPPOSED TO
HAVE BEEN REMOVED THITHER FROM THETFORD PRIORY, NORFOLK;
WITH NOTICE OF A
Manuscript Volume of the Howard Family,
BELONGING TO THE MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON,
And other Howard Memoranda.

COMMUNICATED BY
THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M.A.,
Hon. Sec.

IN enumerating the "Lost Brasses" of the County of Norfolk in a former communication,¹ no reference was made to the two very fine ones here represented, which there is good reason to believe were originally in the Priory Church at Thetford, and removed, at the Dissolution, to St. Mary's Church, Lambeth. They have long been lost from their second resting-place; but drawings of them are preserved in a most sumptuous MS. volume relating to the Howard family, now in the possession of the Marquis of Northampton, at Castle Ashby. By the kindness and skill

¹ Vol. vi. p. 3.

of the Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, accurate tracings of these drawings have been made, and are now engraved for our Society; and I have to tender my best thanks to him and to his brother, the Marquis of Northampton, not only for this assistance, but for permission to examine the precious volume in which they are contained for myself.

The extreme minuteness of these drawings, which are on vellum, the fineness of the lines of shading, and the elaborate richness of the colours and gilding employed, have made it almost impossible to reproduce them in a woodcut with perfect exactness. Considering the time too, when they were drawn,—by Henry Lilly, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant in the year 1638,—it is not to be wondered at if a little liberty was taken by the draughtsman, and his aim was not so much an exact delineation of every line of the brass, as to represent it in an exquisite picture as faithfully as he chose, or as he would condescend to yield his artistic capabilities. The drawings in this MS. illustrate the pedigree and monuments of the Howard family; and the two now under consideration are from the brasses of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk, K.G., born 1444, died 21st May, 1524; and his second wife, Agnes, sister and heir of Sir Philip Tilney. The duke is represented in the armour of the reign of Henry VIII., with the mantle of the order of the Garter, his head resting on a tilting helmet, and surmounted by his crest: there are four shields of arms at the corners of the slab, but the inscription at his feet was already lost. The duchess wears a heraldic mantle, and a coronet on her head; and her figure is placed under a rich triple canopy, supported on shafts to which shields of arms are slung. An outline of the altar-tomb on which this brass was laid is delineated in the drawing, showing at the end the indent of a shield surrounded by a Garter. In other respects the tombs appear to have been plain. The following is Henry Lilly's account of these monuments, subjoined to his drawings in the MS.

"Howard's Chappell adioyning north to the Parish Church of Lambeth, in the Countie of Surrey.

"In the said chappell remaineth a marble stone on y^e pauement to the memorie of the high and mightie Prince Lord Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Earle Marshall, and Lord High Treasurer of England, that died a^o 16 H. 8, 1524: the Inscription defaced and gonne, onely the armes and Picture continueth; which Gravestone, as it should seeme, was there placed at such tyme as his monument with the monasterie of Thetford in Norfolke were demolished and pulled down."

"Howard's Chappell: where is a faire Altar Tombe in the middle of the said chappell, erected to the memorie of Agnes, Duchesse of Norfolk, second wife of Thomas the victorious Duke: the inscription stolne away, the Armes on the sides and ends defaced."

The "victorious" Duke, whose life and achievements are well known,² was the hero of Flodden Field, son of Shakespeare's "Jockey of Norfolk," and grandfather of the poet Earl of Surrey. It was in commemoration of his services at Flodden that the well-known augmentation of the Howard arms,—of an escutcheon or, on the bend, charged with a demi-lion rampant, pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a treasure flory, counter flory, gules,—was granted by Henry VIII. His death took place at Framlingham Castle,³ and his body was conveyed, with elaborate ceremonial to Diss Church, and from thence the next day to Thetford Priory. Some account of these proceedings were read to the Society at the meeting at Diss a few years ago. A long description of the order of his funeral, with many curious particulars, has been published several times⁴ from a MS. of Henry Chitting, Chester Herald; and was lately

² See Dugdale's *Baronage*, Martin's *Thetford*, &c.

³ His portrait, on panel, is preserved at Greystoke Castle, Cumberland.

⁴ Martin's *Thetford*, Appendix viii., p. 38; Guthrie's *Peerage*.

reprinted by Mr. Hunt of Thetford, in his book on that town.⁵ A Latin account is also given of his "obit" in a MS. Register of Butley Abbey, quoted by Martin,⁶—"honorificentissime et magnificentissime ejus corpus humatum fuit." Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, celebrated mass; and Dr. Makarell (afterwards hanged) preached a sermon from the text, "Ecce vicit leo de tribu Juda;" on which occasion Martin records that "an extraordinary accident fell out, preserved by his great grandson Henry Howard, that so violent a fear surprised all the multitude, being very diligent and attentive to the sermon in the church of Thetford, as all ran out with haste, leaving the preacher alone in the pulpit."⁷

By his will, dated 31st May, 1520, of which Sir N. H. Nicolas says that it is remarkable as being perhaps the latest instrument extant in which a subject speaks of himself in the plural number, he directed his body to be buried in the Priory of Thetford, and gives orders for levying £132 6s. 8d. "for making of our tombe before the high altar at Thetford, as devised by us, Master Clerke, master of the Kinge's werkes at Cambridge, and Wassel, free mason of Bury, and pictures of us and of Agnes our wife to be set together there upon, as well as may be for the saide sum."⁸ A very long inscription, filling more than five quarto pages of print, and forming a biography of the duke, was affixed as a tablet to his tomb, and is recorded by Martin⁹ and Weever.¹ I have not met with any direct evidence that the brasses on the tombs at Thetford were the same as those to

⁵ Hunt's *Thetford*, Appendix xx., p. 367.

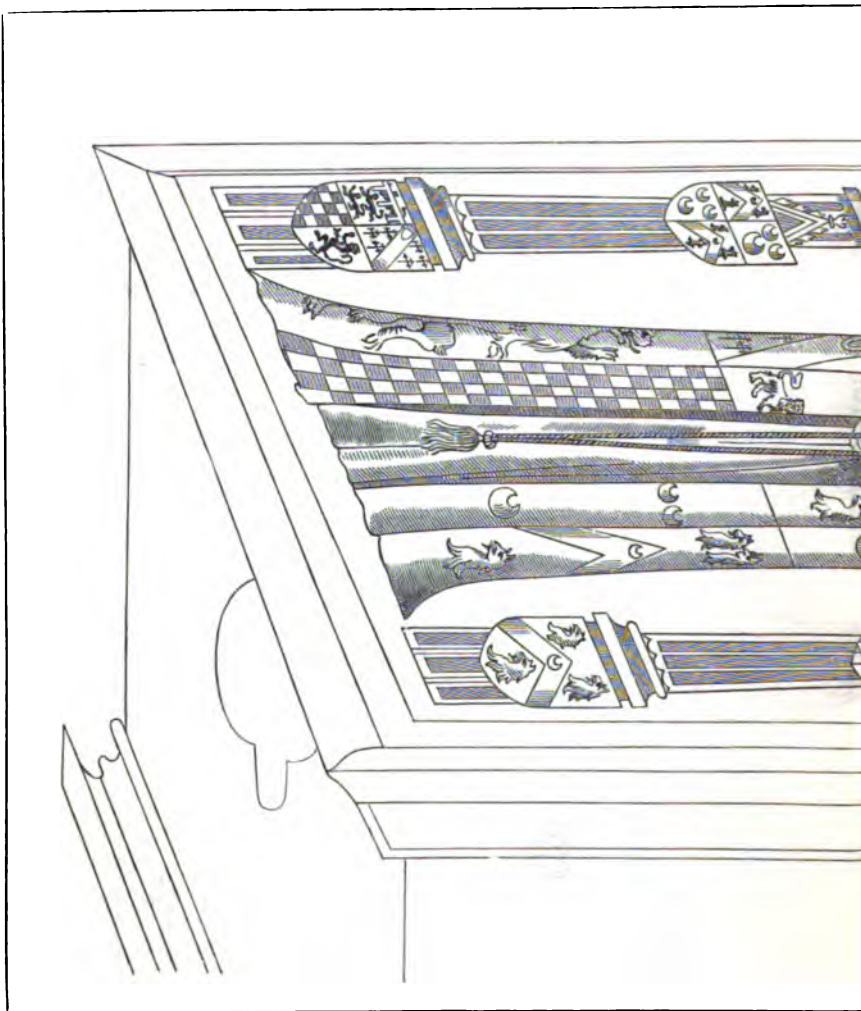
⁶ Martin's *Thetford*, p. 122.

⁷ Martin, p. 123; *Defensive against the Poison of supposed Prophecies*, p. 119.

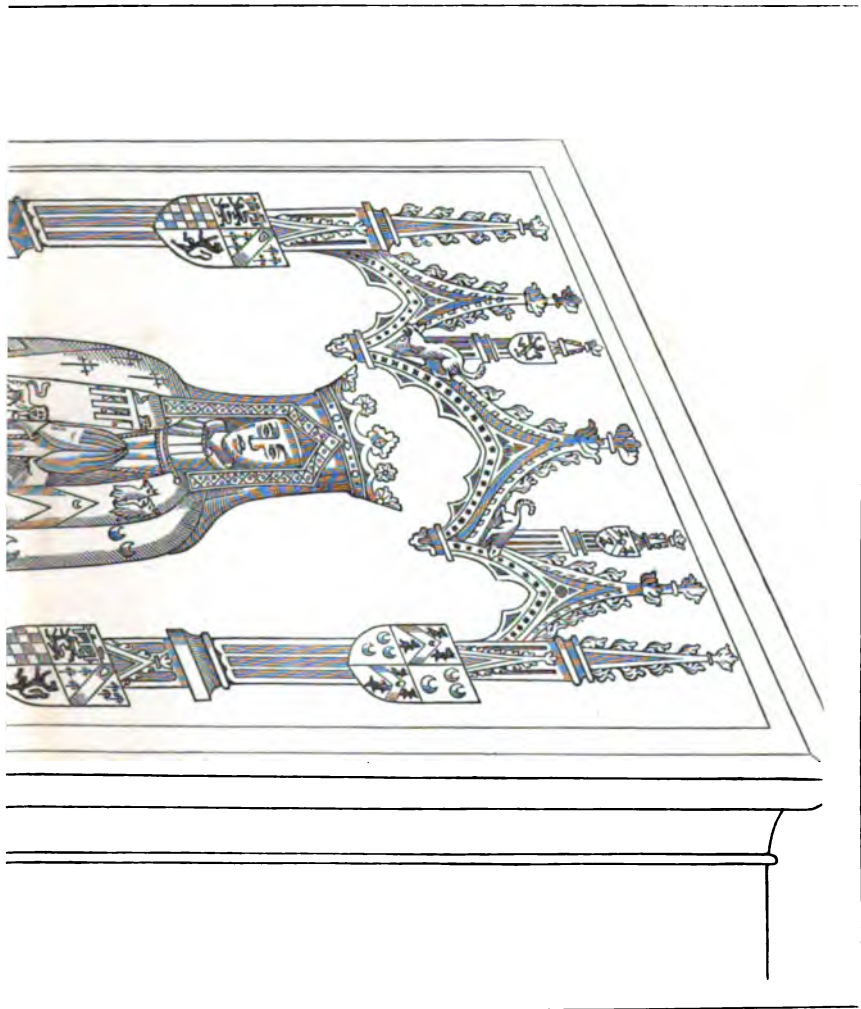
⁸ Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 602.

⁹ Appendix, p. 43.

¹ *Funeral Monuments*, p. 554, ed. 1767.



BRASS OF AGNES, DUCH
FORMERLY IN LANBE



BS OF NORFOLK, (1524)

H. CHURCH, SURREY.



be seen, after the Dissolution, at Lambeth. But it appears to be assumed by Lilly, in his description already given, that they were removed there; as it is by Mr. Howard of Corby, in his *Memorials of the Howard Family*.² There is no improbability in the opinion, as the representatives of the family at the time would be likely to desire the preservation of such expensive memorials, so recently erected, rather than to furnish new ones: and there is every correspondence in the costume of these figures, and their style of execution, with the date at which the originals were placed in Thetford Priory Church. The only difficulty is that by the terms of the duke's will it would seem that the brasses were to be of himself and the duchess together on one stone; and the brasses now illustrated from Lambeth were evidently on separate tombs. Martin says that "the Duke's remains were removed to Framlingham at the Dissolution, and his tomb destroyed; but in remembrance thereof another was supposed to have been erected in Howard's Chapel in Lambeth Church," the drawings of which in Lilly's MS. he then proceeds to mention. This might be so, while the brasses were the same, only the tombs were new. At any rate, if the brasses never were in our county, they are memorials of important Norfolk personages, and as such may be allowed to come within the scope of our Society's designs.

It may be interesting to place on record in our pages some account of the valuable manuscript in which these drawings are preserved. It has been so fully described in the Appendix to the Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts,³ by the able pen of Mr. Alfred J. Horwood, that it may be allowable to transfer his account to these pages, especially as many of our members may not have access to the report.

² P. 9, where they are poorly engraved.

³ P. 209.

"The volume measures in its binding about 16 inches by 12 inches. It is bound in red velvet: in the centre of each side is the shield (of eight quarters) of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (ob. 1646), surrounded by the Garter, and surmounted by his coronet. These, as also the large and bossed ornaments at each of the eight corners and the clasps, are of metal, heavily gilt. The volume commences with the title, *The Genealogie of the princelie familie of the Howards*, exactly deduced in a right line from the xvth yeere of the raigne of King Edgar, sole monarch of England in the yeere of our redemption DCCCCLXX, before the Norman Conquest 96 yeers, to this present xiiijth yeere of the raigne of our dread Sovereigne Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., MDCXXXVIII. Collected and disposed by the industry of Hen. Lilly, Rouge Dragon. This volume consists of 271 leaves of thick vellum, of which the first and last leaves and a few of the intermediate leaves are blank. After the title page the pedigree begins with Howard, a Saxon, and is continued in a right line to p. 47, which shows Thomas Howard as eldest son of Henry Howard, who was the second son and successor of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1646, and to whose shield, crests, supporters, mantling, and titles page 50 is dedicated. At page 52 Thomas Howard, Lord Howard of Walden (so created in 1579), who was a younger son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and his descendants are shown, down to p. 56. At p. 60 and thence to p. 64, Lord William Howard of Naworth (who is said to be living anno 1637) and his descendants are shown. At p. 68 are shown the wives and children of Lord Edmund Howard, third son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk; one of the children being Catharine Howard, wife of King Henry VIII. At p. 72 appears Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon (third son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk) and his four wives, and his

children by the first three, and their issue. This pedigree ends in p. 74. At p. 76 a pedigree begins with Thomas Howard (the victor at Flodden), and the list of his descendants ends at p. 81. The next three leaves are blank. Pages 88—130 are occupied with careful coloured drawings of tombs, effigies in stone, marble, alabaster, brass, and stained glass; and copies of inscriptions in the churches of Fersfield, Middleton, and East Winch,⁴ co. Norfolk; the private chapel of Tendring Hall in the parish of Stoke Neyland; the church of Stoke Neyland, co. Suffolk; Weeting church, co. Norfolk; Long Melford church, co. Suffolk; Lambeth church, co. Surrey; Framlingham church, co. Suffolk; and Dover Castle church, co. Kent. Pages 136—510 (except a few blanks) are occupied with careful copies, or abstracts, of deeds, wills, and fines, extracts from *Domesday Book*, the Pipe Rolls, the Close, Patent, and Plea Rolls, and inquisitions; the old English chroniclers, and manuscripts in private hands, and copies of a few more monumental inscriptions. The seals to many of these documents are beautifully copied with pen and ink. Red ink numerals over names in these copies and abstracts refer to corresponding numbers in the pedigrees. Pages 531—537 contain an alphabetical index of names.

“A finer heraldic volume than this need not be wished for. The drawings and their colourings are of the first class, and the last in the volume are as carefully done as those in the beginning. The title page is architectural. Two Corinthian columns guard an arch in which is written the title, given above. The arch is surmounted by the shield of Howard supported by two angels. Each of the columns is flanked by two niches, containing full-length miniatures of a duke, an earl, a viscount, and a baron. In

⁴ A curious tomb and a font, with heraldic cover, formerly in East Winch church, is here illustrated; and Weever has engraved them in his *Funeral Monuments*, plate C and p. 564, ed. 1767.

the centre of the pediment is a queen (probably intended for Catherine Howard): to the right of her are the ducal arms, Mowbray in the first quarter: to her left, the arms of the Earl of Arundel with quarterings. To the left of one pedestal is the crest of Howard, surrounded by the Garter, and surmounted by an earl's coronet. To the right of the other pedestal are the arms of Howard (gules, a bend between six cross crosslets, fitchée, argent), surrounded and surmounted in like manner. Between the pedestals of the two columns is a picture of a band of armed horsemen pursuing retreating cavalry. The winged cherub's head above the battle piece is the only thing to detract from the perfection of this title page. The armorial bearings throughout (110 shields in the pedigrees, besides many more on the copies of tombs and glass windows) are of perfect workmanship, and their gold and colours are undimmed. As the pedigrees show the wives and daughters of the Howards, so the shields show the armorial bearings of the wives and of the husbands of the daughters. In the monuments the artist has given the shades and veinings of the stone and marble; and the texture of the Purbeck marble is admirably represented. The copies of the brasses in Lambeth church" (the two here illustrated) "are marvellous. The tradition is that this volume was executed by order of a Howard. From the date on the title page (1638) and the fact that a whole page is devoted to the 'achievement' of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and the enumeration of his titles, it may be concluded that it was executed for that earl. He died in 1646, a troublous time. I cannot believe that this man, who was so proud of his ancestry, would have hesitated to pay well for it, he being a good patron of art. After completion in 1638 the volume may well have remained with Lilly for the purpose of being supplemented; and after the earl's death, his executors may well have hesitated to pay a large price for a volume, the charges for which

perhaps had not been definitely arranged between Lilly and the earl. But the fact is, that the volume remained with Lilly until death, and from Lilly's representative Compton, Earl of Northampton, purchased it; and his descendant, the present Marquis of Northampton, is now the owner."

In addition to this accurate description of the contents of this beautiful book, notice should be taken of two exquisite drawings on p. 121. They represent two banners then to be seen in the Howard Chapel in Lambeth Church, which were used at the funeral of the Duchess Agnes. In colouring they rival the finest miniatures. The banners themselves were probably by no means so delicate in their construction, and Lilly probably improved upon them, as he may have done with the brasses, their style being less like that of the sixteenth century than of the seventeenth. One represents St. Margaret in a white and gold robe and a red mantle: she is crowned, and holds a book in the right hand, and a spear in the left piercing a dragon. There are shields with the Howard arms on each side; the whole being on a gold ground surrounded by a border. The other represents the Virgin and Child, in gold, on a red diapered ground, with shields, &c. Lilly says of them, "In which Chappell are two antient Banners after this manner: the one of our blessed Lady St. Mary the Virgin, the other of St. Margaret, the which were used at the Funerall of the Lady Agnes Dutchesse of Norffolke, second wife of Thomas the victorious Duke of Norffolke."

There is also a description, on p. 124, of another brass, formerly in Lambeth Church, of a lady in heraldic mantle and pedimental head-dress, under a cinquefoiled canopy, with shields, scrolls, and marginal legend, representing Katharine Broughton, first wife of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral of England; mother of Agnes Howard, Marchioness of Winchester.

It may not be thought out of place to add to this account

of Howard memorials, a collected view of the honours attained by this illustrious Norfolk family. Such a list appeared in the *Times* newspaper in January last, on the occasion of the elevation of Admiral Howard to the Peerage as Lord Lanerton.⁵ Including some subsequent corrections, the notice of these titles and dignities, which seems worthy of preservation in our pages, is as follows:—

“The number of the Howard family who at present hold seats in the House of Lords is seven. These are the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Suffolk, Effingham, Wicklow, Carlisle, and Barons Howard of Glossop and Lanerton. In fact the seven peers hold eight coronets between them, for the Earl of Suffolk is also Earl of Berkshire by virtue of a separate creation. Lord Howard de Walden is not a Howard paternally, but an Ellis, though the first Lord Howard de Walden was a grandson of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk. Besides the above titles, various members of the Howard family, all descended either from the first Duke of Norfolk, or from his kinsmen, have held in past years the following titles:—Viscount Howard of Bindon, created 1559, extinct 1619; Baron Howard of Castle Rising, created 1669; Baron Howard of Escrick, created 1628, extinct 1714; Baron Howard of Marnhill, created 1604, extinct 1614; Earl of Northampton, created 1604, extinct 1614. Various members of the ducal house of Howard have at different times, and for shorter or longer periods, held the Baronies of Kerdeston, Beauchamp of Bletsoe, Furnival, Strange of Blackmere, Talbot, Mowbray, if not others. The present Duke of Norfolk is also Earl of Arundel, Earl of Surrey, Earl of Norfolk, Baron Fitzalan, Baron of Clun, Baron Oswaldestre, and Baron Maltravers; and coheir to some of the titles mentioned above, or to moieties of the same. His grandfather, too, was called to the Upper House by his

⁵ The *Times*, January 2nd, 3rd, and 10th, 1874.

father's Barony of Maltravers, in 1841. The Earl of Carlisle is also Viscount Howard of Morpeth, Baron D'Acre of Gillesland, and coheir to a moiety of the Barony of Greystock. The Earl of Effingham is also Baron Howard of Effingham. The Earl of Wicklow is also Viscount Wicklow and Baron Clonmore in the Peerage of Ireland, The Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire is also Viscount Andover and Baron Howard of Charlton. There were also titles of Baron Howard, created 1470; Earl of Norwich, created 1672; Earl of Nottingham, created 1597, extinct 1681; Earl of Bindon and Baron Chesterford, extinct 1722; Earl and Viscount Stafford, extinct 1762. It is probable that even the long list here given does not exhaust the catalogue of the honours which, during the last four centuries, have been showered down upon this family, since the day that the eminent Yorkist general, Sir John Howard, was raised to the Peerage, just fifteen years before he fell fighting on the side of Richard on Bosworth Field. The Dukedom, though three times forfeited by attainder, has about it a singular vitality,⁶ having been three times revived: and the *Peerages* tell us,—though after the ruling in the case of the Barony of Berkeley,

⁶ A newspaper cutting, of about a century ago, pasted into a volume of Guthrie's *Peerage* in my possession, has the following curious story: "There is a legend concerning the family of Norfolk, which, however we may be inclined to laugh at, has by an *accident*, if not by *fate*, received all the authority that time and a continual reiteration of proofs can give it. John, Duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Hen. V., had conceived a disgust towards the Monks, which he took every marked occasion to show. He carried this so far, that tho' a man of hospitality and true English grandeur, he one night ordered admittance to be refused to a travelling monk, though the weather was tempestuous, and he was weary with his pedestral journey. Incensed at this uncharitable detrusion, the poor monk, in the warmth of resentment, pronounced a curse, which it is affirmed has never been taken off the family, namely, that no Howard, *Duke* of Norfolk, should ever have a son. This anathema does not reach the heirs to the Dukedom: even the Earls of Surry may have children, but it is averred that from that period, no Duchess of Norfolk has ever given her husband either son or daughter."

the statement might possibly not be held to stand good in law,—that ‘the earldom of Arundel belongs to the Duke of Norfolk, not only by creation, but also as a feudal honour, by possession of Arundel Castle only, having been so adjudged by Act of Parliament, 11th Henry VI.’ But, at all events, speaking roughly, it may be said that the Howards own, or have owned, in the English Peerage, one dukedom, twelve earldoms, four viscountcies, twenty baronies; as well as an earldom, viscountcy, and a barony in the sister kingdom. Forty coronets in four centuries form a roll of honours never equalled by any other English house in ancient or modern times.”

Besides these, there are or were many Continental honours. “Three separate Howards, of separate branches, have been created Peers, or inherited as nobles, of Austria; and two more of Spain, while another family of Howard holds by descent various titles of the separate or late independent States of Italy, namely, Marquis of Monte Leone, Counts of Civitella, Santa Maria, and San Pietro; and the Baronies of Vico, Bagnoli, Castel Franco, Magliano, Montalto, Berghetto, San Georgio, and San Martino; and has claim to far higher honours, those of Prince of Villafranca, and Duke of Isola and Casali, titles held by ancestors of this branch of the Howards; and a member of another branch is a Cardinal at Rome; these being all descendants, in various stages, of the first Duke of Norfolk.”

The Walsingham "Wishing Wells."

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. HENRY JAMES LEE-WARNER, M.A.,

HON. CANON OF NORWICH.

I AM enabled, by the kind permission of Mr. Bragge of Sheffield, to extract from a MS. in his possession an original document of sufficient local interest to occupy a place in our Journal. The MS. is a richly-illuminated Breviary, or compendious Service Book, of the fifteenth century, which appears to have been in use at the Augustine Priory of Walsingham. It not only carries evidence of its former ownership in the words "Iste liber pertinet Ric^d. Vowell Priori de Walsyngham," but the Service with which it concludes is thus entitled, "De sanctâ Mariâ cotidie per annum."

In accordance with a practice, usual in mediæval MSS., the fly-leaves are inscribed with much that is irrelevant to the body of the contents. Among this matter there occurs a series of instructions to the members of the community, bearing not only on their inner life, as individuals, but preserving regulations in detail, by which we obtain a glimpse of their social life in its relations. Thus the first chapter, which is entitled "Die Domenico," is an address on the

subject with which it opens: "Ante omnia, Fratres Charissimi, diligatur Deus, deinde Proximus." The next chapter is entitled "Feria secunda," (the mediæval term for Monday) and is a Pastoral Address on Prayer. The third is a Treatise on Dress, as connected with chastity of deportment. The fourth continues the subject by prescribing certain rules for the guidance of the Vestiarium. And the fifth we give at length, as relating to the management of the Wells, which formed, as is well known, from the time of its foundation, a very leading feature in the history of the monastery. It may perhaps be considered, as also throwing light on the name "Wishing Wells," by which, from time immemorial, the wells and bath have been designated.

FERIA QUINTA.

Lavacrum etiam corporis, cujus infirmitatum necessitas crescit, minimè denegetur. Fiat sine murmure concilio medicinæ, ita ut etiam si nolit, jubente Præposito, faciat, quod faciendum est pro salute. Si autem velit, quod forte non expedit, suæ cupiditati non obediatur. Aliquibus, etiam si noceat, prodesse creditur, quod delectat. Denique si latet et dolor in corpore, famulo Dei dicente quod sibi doleat, sine dubitatione credatur. Si tamen, utrum sanando illi dolori quod delectat expediat, si non est certum, medicus consulatur. Nec eant ad balnea sine quocunque ire necesse fuerit minus quam duo vel tres. Ille, qui habeat aliquo necessitatem eundi, cum quibus Præpositus jusserit, ire debet. Ægrotantium cura, sive post ægritudinem reficiendorum, sive aliquâ imbecillitate, sive etiam febribus laborantium, uni alicui debet injungi, ut ipse de cellariâ petat, quod unicuique opus esse perspexerit. Sive autem qui cellaria, sive qui vestibus, sive qui codicibus præponuntur, sine murmure serviant fratribus suis. Codices certâ horâ singulis diebus

petantur. Extra horam qui petierit, non accipiat. Vestimenta, vel calciamenta, quanti fuerint indigentibus necessaria, dare non differant, sub quorum custodiâ sunt, quæ postulantur.

For the convenience of the general reader, the following may be taken to express the sense of the original.

THURSDAY.

The bath is open to all, in case of bodily infirmity. Let it be had without a murmur on the advice of a physician ; so that the patient's inclination may be subordinate to the order of the Superintendent, in resorting to proper measures for the recovery of his health. Should he desire, however, anything which may not be expedient, his wish must not be gratified. Some persons take a fancy for things that are injurious. But if a servant of God asserts that he is suffering, let him be believed, although the cause of pain be not outwardly apparent. Notwithstanding, if it be not certain that the gratification of his wish may tend to his recovery, let the physician be consulted. Let not a smaller number than two or three, if unattended, go to the bath. He, who has need of the bath, must go with such attendants as the Superintendent may appoint. Let the care of patients, whether convalescent, or suffering under weakness, or even fever, be assigned to a responsible person, who shall himself procure from the cellar (? storeroom) whatever may be requisite. And let the Cellarer, Vestiary, or Librarian cheerfully serve his brethren. Let the MSS. be applied for at a fixed hour daily. Let no application at other hours be listened to. Let the custodian of each respectively deal out garments or shoes as wanted.

That miraculous powers of healing were attributed to these wells as late as the year 1513, on the testimony of

Erasmus, we have no reason to doubt. And in the midst of the sober sense which we recognize in the above regulations, there lurks a sort of indication that a superstitious feeling was associated with the use of them in the mind of the average votary. A former possessor of the Breviary, probably Vowell himself, has intensified this feeling, as representing the belief of his Priory, in the following Leonines. They are appended to a short service in honour of St. Richard, "Confessor et Pontifex," which is written in another hand, at the close of the illuminated pages.

Ad matut̃ ãnphona

O Richarde q̃ tot signa preſtas egris laude digna
ſacra manū nos cōſigna q̃ plātamus fer̃m ligna
purga p̃ce tā benigna ut fruãm gloīa.

AD MATUTINAM ANTIPHONIAM.

O Richarde, qui tot signa
Præſtas egris laude digna,
Sacra manu nos conſigna :
Quæ plantamus . . . ligna [q' plātamus fer̃m ligna.]¹
Purga prece tuā benignā
Ut fruamur gloriā.

I am reminded by our friend the Rev. R. Hart, of Catton, that there were two saints in the middle ages who bore that name. The earlier was an English prince under the Hephtharchy, who died A.D. 722, at Lucca, where his reliques are still venerated. By his prayers he obtained, when living, the recovery of his son Willibald, whom he laid at the foot of a great crucifix erected in a public place. And since his death, says Alban Butler, many have experienced the

¹ The Rev. Prebendary Dayman, whose forthcoming edition of Du Cange will be welcomed by archæologists, reads the ambiguous abbreviation as *ferm* for *fermans*.

miraculous power of his intercession, especially when his reliques invite the devotion of the faithful. Be this, however, as it may, the Richard whom the verses celebrate is designated Pontifex, or Bishop. He was consecrated to the See of Chichester A.D. 1245; and at his obsequies, which took place on April 3rd, says Haræus, p. 246, "*Magna divinitus eduntur miracula, adeo ut etiam tres mortui ejus meritis ad vitam revocati sunt.*"

We may well imagine that the lines before us were chanted in antiphonal cadence by the choir of the Augustines on the festival of the wonder-working saint. Antiphons which commenced with O were deemed of peculiar solemnity. It was orthodox to select them for the week which immediately preceded the Nativity.

This, in laudation of St. Richard, opens with a plain allusion to the episcopal benediction, but the last three lines are not so easily interpreted, and their meaning is further obscured by a doubtful reading. In approaching a solution of the difficulty, we may observe that the word "*lignum*" (see Du Cange) is used in a twofold sense. We have, *e.g.*, the phrase, "*Lignum cadaveri humo condito superponere;*" so that the phrase "*lignum plantare,*" is equivalent to the act of burial. But the *arbor finalis*, or *lignum notatum*, had another meaning, illustrated in the following passage, "*Albinus fines terræ cæpit perambulare, ac incisuras arborum, quæ terras terminabant, demonstrare.*"—*Tabularium Abbatie de Rota*, fol. 9.

It seems then that it was usual to select certain trees as landmarks. These would naturally stand, and be held sacred, in evidence of the boundary. And thus, by a beautiful allusion, the saint is invoked for the dying, that he would mark them on his festal day, that the axe might not be laid to their roots, but that they might stand for ever.

In addition to the service for St. Richard, there occurs in the MS. another in honour of St. Dorothy. Why she was a
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favourite with the Augustines is not so clear. But as their garden, called Jubilee, is mentioned in the Walsingham Register (*Cotton. MSS.*, Nero, c. vii. fol. 165, 166), they plainly delighted in horticulture; and thus the legend of St. Dorothy, presented by an angel with fruits and flowers from Paradise, would not only be singularly attractive, but might properly lead to her recognition as one of their "Avouries."

The Heraldry of Norwich Cathedral.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. J. EVANS, M.A.

THOUGH not so rich in armorial bearings as some churches, Norwich Cathedral is not without interest for the student of heraldry. It has nothing like the series of royal arms and badges which adorns King's College Chapel, Cambridge, the gorgeous heraldries of St. George's, Windsor, the bosses in the cloisters at Canterbury, or even the very interesting set of shields in the south aisle of Yarmouth Church. But its choir roof is richly (if somewhat monotonously) decorated with Bishop Goldwell's golden wells, now (thanks to the pious care of our President) once more glowing with their original splendour; part of the Boleyn pedigree is illustrated by a series of shields carved over the easternmost arches of the choir; and the arms of many of our old Norfolk families are to be seen on the choir stalls. Still, it is sad to think how much richer the church once was in armorial bearings. Mackerell gives a list of one hundred and thirty-eight coats as existing either in his time (1737) or shortly before. Blomefield (iv. 5, 40) speaks of many coats on the walls and in the windows, "most of which," he

says, "are now gone." But he describes altogether seventy-nine coats as then existing. I have not been able to find above forty-three or forty-four of the coats described by Mackerell and Blomefield, and of these six are hidden away in the south triforium of the nave, where the monuments to which two of them belong are actually in pieces on the floor. The twenty-four escutcheons which Blomefield speaks of on the inside of the steeple, over the choir, I suppose disappeared long ago. But it is little more than forty years since the tomb of Bishop Herbert, the founder, which had been re-erected by the Dean and Chapter in 1682, in its place in the choir, was a second time levelled with the floor: and the shields of arms of Dean Sharpe and the Prebendaries, which were upon it, are to be found (if anywhere) in the garden wall of a prebendal house now occupied by Mr. Heaviside. And if it be true (as I have heard it whispered) that an eminent architect has suggested the demolition of Bishop Goldwell's Perpendicular casing of the piers and arches of the choir, in order that it may be replaced by modern "Norman," it is quite possible that some future Dean, whose munificence is not equalled by his discretion, may destroy the set of Boleyn shields, obliterate Bishop Nix's chantry, and go on to pull down Bishop Goldwell's roof, with the idea of bringing back the fabric to the state in which the Norman builders left it.

In the following list I have enumerated about one hundred and twenty-four different coats, carved or painted on as many as two hundred and fifty-two shields. Only two seem to call for any special notice here, viz., those numbered 51 and 57 respectively. No. 51 is painted on the west side of the gallery in the north aisle of the choir. It represents a bird rising or, on a blue ground; probably the arms of a benefactor at the time the gallery was built in the fourteenth century. But the upper part of the bird is quite gone, and there is no saying what it was meant for. No. 57 represents

a lion rampant facing to the sinister; it is in a lozenge forming part of the painted decoration of the arch opening into St. Luke's Chapel, and (like No. 51) it has only lately been uncovered. The paintings in this part of the church, though undoubtedly of early date, can hardly, I think, be Bishop Herbert's work, but must be later than the fire of 1171, possibly than that of 1272. In any case this must be the earliest coat of arms now existing in the cathedral. The tinctures are very much faded, and it is hardly possible now to say whose armorial bearing it is.

I have added an Index, referring to the number under which each coat is blazoned.

In the East Window of the Choir.

1. The arms of the See, viz., Azure, three mitres with their labels or; impaling *Stanley*, viz., Argent, on a bend azure three stag's heads cabossed or; the whole ensigned with a mitre or.

Edward Stanley, D.D., born 1 January 1779, Rector of Alderley 1805, Bishop of Norwich 1837, died 6th September 1849.

Carved and painted on Bosses in the Roof of the Choir.

2. *The See.*

3. *Goldwell*; viz., Quarterly; 1 and 4, Azure, a chief or, over all a lion rampant argent guttée de poix; 2 and 3, Argent, six columbines azure, on a chief gules three wells or. The shield is supported by angels and ensigned with what is perhaps meant for a mitre.

James Goldwell, Bishop from 1472 till his death in February 1498-9, built the roof of the choir, and cased the Norman arcade below with Perpendicular work.

4. On a helmet, full-faced, the crest of *Goldwell*; viz., a well or, with a bunch of leaves and flowers placed in it. The golden well, with or without the bunch of leaves, is to be seen on most of the bosses of the roof.

**Carved over the Arches north and south of the Choir,
westward of the Apse.**

South side.

5. A chevron between three bull's heads couped. *Boleyn*; Argent, a chevron gules between three bull's heads couped sable.

6. *Boleyn*, quartering Three mullets, and a chief indented ermine. *Bracton*; Azure, three mullets or, a chief indented ermine.

7. *Boleyn* and *Bracton* quarterly; impaling Quarterly of four grand quarters; 1 and 4, Quarterly; 2 and 3, A fesse between six crozlets; in pretence Fretty, a chief. *Hoo*; Quarterly argent and sable. *St. Omer*; Azure, a fesse between six crozlets or *St. Leger*; Azure, fretty argent, a chief gules.

8. *Hoo* and *St. Omer* quarterly, in pretence *St. Leger*; impaling Ermine, on a chief three crosses pattée. *Witchingham*; Ermine, on a chief sable three crosses pattée argent.

9. As 5.

10. As 6.

11. As 7.

12. *Boleyn* and *Hoo* quarterly; impaling A chief indented. *Butler*; Azure, a chief indented or.

13 and 14. *Boleyn* and *Bracton* quarterly.

North side.

15. As 6.

16. As 7, without *St. Leger*.

17. As 5.
18. *Boleyn*; impaling *Hoo* and *St. Omer* quarterly, with *St. Leger* in pretence.
19. *Boleyn*; impaling *Bracton*.
20. As 8.¹

Mural Monuments in the Choir.

North side, beginning from the East.

21. In a lozenge; Ermine, on a bend azure three mill-rinds or. For Mary and Anne Echard, who died in 1714 and 1710 respectively.

22. Argent, a fesse chequy or and azure, in chief two lion's heads erased sable² (?); impaling Azure, on a fesse between three rhinoceroses or, as many escallops gules. (*Tappes*,—Papworth's *Ordinary*). For John Chamber, Esq., Recorder of Norwich, Southwold, and Yarmouth, and Steward of the Courts to the Dean and Chapter, who died 15 June 1788, aged sixty-two.

23. Azure, on a chief indented or three mullets pierced gules; in pretence Gules, two bars and a chief indented or (*Hare*?). Crest: Out of a ducal coronet or, a man's head proper, filleted round the temples azure and or. For Thomas Moore, D.D., who died 25 July 1779, aged sixty-three.

24. Azure, three horse's heads erased argent; impaling Argent, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed gules. For Philip Lloyd, D.D., twenty-five years Dean, who died 31 May 1790, in his sixty-third year.³

25. *The See*; impaling A fesse vair (no tinctures shewn but that of the fesse). For George Horne, D.D., President

¹ For the tinctures, and a pedigree which elucidates these quarterings, see Harrod's *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 287.

² "Between three lion's heads erased sable."—Edmonson's *Alphabet of Arms*.

³ The inscriptions on Nos. 22, 23, 24 are in Latin.

of Magdalen College, Oxford, Dean of Canterbury, and Bishop of Norwich, who died 17 January 1792, in his sixty-second year. Horne of Warwickshire, Salop, and Sussex; Gules, a fesse vairé.—Edmonson.

South side of Choir.

26. *The See*; impaling Or, a cross pattée between four annulets.⁴ For John Overall, D.D., Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, 1593—1607; Regius Professor of Divinity 1596—1607; Dean of St. Paul's 1602—1614; Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry 1614; Bishop of Norwich 1618; died 12 May 1619, aged sixty. The inscription, which is in Latin, was written by Bishop Cosin.

27. A chevron between two mullets pierced in chief and an annulet in base; impaling A lion's head couped between three crescents. For Robert Plumptre, D.D., President of Queen's College, Cambridge, 1760—1788, and Prebendary of this church; who died 19 October 1788, aged sixty-five. The inscription is in Latin. *Plumptre*; Argent, a chevron between two mullets in chief and an annulet in base sable.—Edmonson. Argent, a lion's head erased between three crescents gules; *Newcome*.—Papworth.

28. Ermine, on a chevron azure three cinquefoils argent; impaling Barry of six gules and argent, on a canton azure a cinquefoil or. For John Moore, LL.B., Principal Registry of the Diocese, eldest son of John Moore, D.D., Bishop first of Norwich and then of Ely; who died 8 January 1725, aged forty-five; and Thomasine his wife, only surviving daughter of Robert Pepper, LL.D., Chancellor of the Diocese; who died 10 April 1715, aged thirty-nine. For the Latin inscription see Blomefield, iii. 590.

29. The arms and inscription on the monument to Stephen Knight (died 1664) and Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Faldo, are almost entirely effaced. Blomefield

⁴ The tincture of the charges is almost effaced; it should be *gules*.

iv. 37) gives the arms as Vert, a bend lozengy or; impaling Gules, three buck's heads cabossed or, attired argent.

30. A lion rampant, with the crest of Goldwell on a gilt helmet, carved on the front of Bishop Goldwell's monument. For the tinctures, which are now entirely effaced, see No. 3.

On a Slab in the Floor, South Side.

31. In a lozenge, *Pepper* impaling *Deaw*, viz., Ermine, three griffin's heads erased. For Eleanor, widow of Robert Pepper, LL.D., Chancellor; who died 10 July 1706. She was a daughter of Lumley Deaw of Bishop's Upton, Herefordshire, as appears from the monumental inscription given by Blomefield (iii. 635), which is now in the triforium of the nave. See No. 240. Blomefield blazons the griffin's heads as or.

Carved on the Elbows of the Altar Chairs.

32 and 33. Three mitres, for the *See*.

34. and 35. A cross, for the arms of the Deanery; viz., Argent, a cross sable.

Carved on the Front of the Seats in the Choir.

36. *The See*.

37. *The Deanery*.

38. *Bathurst*; viz., Sable, two bars ermine, in chief three crosses pattée or.

Henry Bathurst, D.C.L., Bishop of Norwich 1805, died 1837, aged ninety-three.

39. *The Deanery*, impaling *Pellew*; viz., Gules, a lion passant gardant, and in chief two chaplets of laurel or; on a chief of augmentation wavy a representation of the city of Algiers with a British man-of-war before it, all proper.

Hon. George Pellew, D.D., son of the first Viscount

Exmouth, Prebendary of Canterbury 1822, Dean of Norwich 1828, died 1866.

40. Gules, a Catharine wheel or ; being the arms of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, to the mastership of which college a prebend in this church was annexed by letters patent of Queen Anne, dated 26 April 1714.

41. *Thurlow* ; viz., Argent, on a chevron cotised sable three portcullises of the field ; a mullet gules for difference.

Edward South Thurlow, M.A., Prebendary 1789, Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, Durham, 1790 ; died 1847, in his eighty-third year.

42. *Methold* ; viz., Azure, six escallops, 3, 2, 1, or.

Thomas Methold, LL.B., Prebendary 1804, died 1842 (?)

43. *Fisher* ; viz., Sable, on a mount vert two stags salient affrontant argent, attired or.

Philip Fisher, D.D., Master of the Charterhouse, Prebendary 1814, died 1842 (?)

44. *Wodehouse* ; viz., Sable, a chevron or guttée de sang between three cinquefoils ermine.

Charles Nourse Wodehouse, M.A., Prebendary 1817, resigned 1860.

45. *Sedgwick* ; viz., Argent, on a cross sable five bells or.

Adam Sedgwick, M.A., LL.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1810, Woodwardian Professor of Geology 1818, Prebendary 1834, died 1873.

Carved on a poppy-head in the Choir.

46. *The See*, impaling *Bathurst*.

North Aisle of Choir.

On a Slab in the Floor.

47. A cross (for *Hovell*, Or, a cross sable), quartering *Thurlow*, with a Latin inscription for Edward South Thurlow, as above, No. 41.

*On the Monument of Dame Elizabeth Calthrop, removed
from the north side of the Ante-choir.*

48. *Berney* in a lozenge; viz., Per pale azure and gules, a cross engrailed ermine.

49. *Calthrop*; viz., Chequy or and azure, a fesse ermine; impaling *Berney*.

50. *Culpepper*; viz., Gules, a chevron engrailed between three martlets argent; impaling *Berney*.

For the inscription see Blomefield, iv. 31. The tinctures on these shields are very much faded.

*Painted on the west side of the Gallery, between the
eighteenth and nineteenth pillars.*

51. Azure, a bird (swan?) rising or. Only the legs and lower parts of the wings remain.

Jesus Chapel.

52, 53. Argent, a cross gules.

54. *The Deanery*.

On Slabs in the Apsidal Procession Path.

55. A cross engrailed; impaling, On a fesse between three fleurs-de-lis as many roundels. For Bridget, wife of Thomas Gournay, who died 26 Sept. 1652; the slab placed here in 1662. For the Latin inscription see Blomefield, iv.

12. *Gurney*; Argent, a cross engrailed gules. Argent, on a fesse sable between three fleurs-de-lis as many besants; *Thwaites* of Hardingham.—Papworth.

56. A cross (for the Deanery); impaling A chevron between three bull's heads cabossed. For Thomas Bullock, D.D., thirty-three years Rector of North Creak, and twenty-one years Dean, who died 30 May 1760, aged sixty-seven; and Sarah his widow, who died 21 April 1775, aged eighty-four. *Bullock*; Gules, a chevron between three bull's heads cabossed argent, armed or.

St. Luke's Chapel.

57 On the soffit of the arch opening into the chapel, just above the cap of the eastern pier, a lion rampant facing to the sinister is painted in a lozenge-shaped compartment forming part of the coloured decoration of the arch. It is *apparently* gules on an argent field; but the colours are very much faded.

58. Azure, a fesse dancette or, between three cherubs proper (of the second ?) ⁵ winged argent; impaling Argent, a shackle bolt sable (*Nuthall* ?). On a mural monument, for Susanna, wife of John Addey, who died 24 May 1765, aged thirty.

On Slabs in the Floor.

59. In a lozenge, A chevron engrailed between three fleurs-de-lis; on a chief as many spear heads. For Susan, daughter of Thomas Wright, Esq., of Santon Downham, who died 10 June 1744, aged seventy-five. *Wright*, of Hants; Azure, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis or; on a chief gules as many spear-heads argent.—Edmonson.

60. A chevron, in chief two leopard's faces; impaling Quarterly, on a bend three mullets. Crest: a lion sejant, in the dexter paw a mullet. For William Harvey gent., who died 23 June 1714, in his sixty-first year; and Anne his wife, who died 28 May 1738, aged seventy-nine. *Harvey* of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire; Or, a chevron gules; in chief two leopard's heads of the last. Crest: a demi-leopard argent, spotted sable, holding between its paws an increscent ermine.—Edmonson. Quarterly argent and sable, on a bend gules three mullets of the first; *Clippesby*, Norfolk.—Papworth.

61. A lion rampant, over all a bend raguly. Crest: a lion rampant ducally collared. For Sarah, wife of Caleb Steward, who died 17 June 1734, in her forty-sixth year.

⁵ Edmonson, s. v. Ady, of Dodington in Kent.

Steward; Argent, a lion rampant gules, over all a bend raguly or. Crest: a lion rampant gules, ducally collared or.—Edmonson.

*On the Frame of the Panel Painting of the Crucifixion, &c.,
now (1874) in the South Aisle of the Choir.*

62. Azure (sable ?), a chevron between three lions rampant argent; *De Reynes* or *Reymes* of Oxstrand, Norfolk.—Blomefield, viii. 146.

63. Gules, a bend argent billety sable; *Morieux* of Suffolk.—Blomefield, vii. 165.

64. *Howard*; viz., Gules, a bend between six crosetts fitchy argent.⁶

On Prior Bozoun's Monument.

65. Argent, a cross sable; for the Priory.

66. Three bird bolts or, for *Bozoun*: the tincture of the field, according to Blomefield (iii. 604), should be gules.

67. The crest of *Broom*, viz., a bunch of broom issuing out of a coronet, still remains to the east of Prior Bozoun's monument; but the arms of *Broom* impaling *Yaxley*, described by Blomefield (iv. 10), are gone.

In the Baughyn Chapel,⁷ or Chapel of our Lady of Pity, now used as the Consistory Court.

68, 69. On corbels in the south wall, from which the groining springs. On a bend three chevronels, in chief a mullet. Papworth gives these arms to Thomas Seguinton,

⁶ For a very interesting paper on this painting and the coats of arms on the frame, by Mr. Albert Way, see the Norwich volume of the Archaeological Institute, 1847.

⁷ Blomefield, following Sir Thomas Browne, calls this the *Beauchamp* Chapel, and speaks of the arms of Beauchamp, with a mullet sable for difference, as being on the roof. He may have confused the chevronels on the bend with Gules, a bend vairé, the arms given by Edmonson to Beauchampe of Somersetshire.

from "a seal, 5 Hen. IV." William Sekyngton, LL.B., who was an advocate in the Consistory Court and "corrector" (P) to Bishop Alnwick (Blomefield iii. 531), and died in 1460, directed by his will that his body should be buried in the Chapel of our Lady of Pity. A representation of our Lady of Pity, supporting the lifeless body of our Saviour, is to be seen on one of the corbels in this chapel, immediately over the site of the altar; and the corbel opposite to it represents a lawyer, wearing the coif, and kneeling at a desk with clasped hands; probably meant for Sekyngton himself.

On a Mural Monument against the West Wall.

70. Argent, on a bend vert between three single wings azure as many fleurs-de-lis or; impaling Ermine, on a chief sable three lioncels rampant argent. For Thos. Batcheler, LL.D., forty-three years a Proctor in this Court, who died 18 July 1729, in his sixty-fifth year. For the Latin inscription, written by Bishop Tanner, while Chancellor of the Diocese, see Blomefield, iv. 14.

On Slabs in the Floor.

71. *Batcheler* and the impalement (*Gleane*), no tinctures shewn; for Thomas Batcheler as above.

72. The same in a lozenge, for Judith his wife, eldest daughter of Leonard Gleane of Norwich, Gent.; who died 11 January 1754, aged eighty-seven.

73. On a chevron between three bird's heads erased a roundel between four croselets. For Robert Nash, LL.D., Chancellor, who died 11 April 1752, in his sixty-second year. *Nash*; Azure, on a chevron between three raven's heads erased argent a pellet between four croselets sable.—Edmonson.

On Slabs in the Floor of the South Aisle of the Choir.

74. In a lozenge; A lion rampant, over all a bend raguly. For Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Augustine

Steward and Mary his wife, who died 13 September 1730, aged sixty-seven; and Anne their youngest daughter, who died 18 February 1732, aged sixty-three. For the arms of Steward see No. 61.

75. An inescutcheon between four mascles in cross; impaling On a fesse dancette three leopard's faces. For John, son of Sir John Miller, Knt.; who died 30 January 1708, in his seventieth year; and Bridget his wife, daughter of Edmund West, Esq., of Marshworth, Bucks; who died 7 June 1711, in her sixty-third year. *Miller*; Azure, an inescutcheon between four mascles or. *West*; Argent, on a fesse dancette sable three leopard's faces jessant-de-lis or.—Edmonson.

76. In a lozenge; A saltire engrailed between four escallops; impaling *Miller*. For Ann, daughter of John Miller and Bridget his wife, and widow of John Beridge, D.D., of Great Massingham, Norfolk; who died 1 Feb. 1725, aged fifty-nine. *Berridge*; Argent, a saltire engrailed between four escallops sable.—Blomefield, iv. 16.

77. A chevron ermine between three chambers discharging; impaling On a fesse three leopard's heads jessant-de-lis. Crest: a leg in armour couped at the thigh, the foot upwards. For Isaac Chambers, Gent., who died 21 March 1725, aged sixty-six; and Christian his wife, daughter of Samuel Brabourne, late of Rumburgh, Suffolk; who died 20 January 1727, aged seventy-six. *Chambers*; Argent, a chevron sable surmounted of another ermine, between three chamber pieces of the second fired proper. *Brabourn*; Argent, on a fesse gules three leopard's faces or.—Edmonson.

78. Two bars and in chief three escallops; impaling three garbs and a bordure engrailed. For Abraham Clerke, B.L., who died 11 December 1747, in his fifty-sixth year. *Clarke*; Or, two bars azure, in chief three escallops gules. *Kemp*; Gules, three garbs within a bordure engrailed or.—Edmonson.

79. *Moore impaling Pepper.* No tinctures shewn. For John Moore and Thomazine his wife, as above, No. 28.

On a Mural Monument over the Door leading into the Choir.

80. Argent, on a pale gules a croslet fitchy or. For Warner Wright, M.D., forty-five years a physician in this city, who died 5 March 1845, in his seventieth year; and Harriet his widow, who was born 31 December 1788, and died 15 December 1870.

North Transept.

Carved on Bosses of the Roof.

81 to 85 inclusive. Five shields of *the See*, on three of which the mitres are marshalled "one and two," instead of "two and one."

86 to 95 inclusive. Ten shields of *Nix*; viz., Or, a chevron between three leopard's faces gules. Richard Nix, Bishop 1500—1535, built the roofs of the transepts.

In the Southernmost Window of the Eastern Clerestory.

96. Gules, on a chevron between three mullets or as many leopard's faces sable. For Robert Alderson, Recorder, who died in December 1833, aged eighty.⁸

Carved on the East Side of the Western Screen.

97. *St. Catharine's Hall.*

Carved on the West Side of the Eastern Screen.

98. *The See.*

99. *The Deanery.*

100. *Pellew.*

101. *Hinds*; viz., Gules, a chevron between three hinds trippant or. Samuel Hinds, D.D., Dean of Carlisle 1848, Bishop of Norwich 1849, resigned 1857, died 1872.

⁸ Father of the late Sir E. H. Alderson, Knt., one of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer.

Carved on a Bench-end.

102. *The Deanery.*

Mural Monuments.

103. Ermine, on a fesse three mullets. For John Press, Mayor in 1753, who died 29 October 1773, aged seventy-six. Ermine, on a fesse gules three mullets or; *Pressy*.—Glover's *Ordinary*.

104. Three chevrons. For Thomas Ivory, who died 28 August 1779, aged seventy; and Hannah his wife, who died 18 June 1787, aged eighty. Or, three chevrons gules; *Iverye*.—Papworth.

105. Per bend argent and or, three dexter hands gules; impaling Argent, on a chevron azure three covered cups of the field. For William Adair, Esq., of Trowse Newton, Barrister at Law and Justice of the Peace, who died 13 March 1820, in his seventieth year. The inscription is in Latin. Argent, on a chevron sable three covered cups or; *Backwell* of London.—Papworth.

On a Slab in the Floor.

106. In a lozenge, *Press* as before. For Catharine, daughter of Matthew and Catharine Press, who died 13 January 1777, aged sixty-three.

*South Transept.**Carved on Bosses in the Roof.*

107 to 117 inclusive. *The See* eleven times; the mitres in two instances being "one and two."

118 to 130 inclusive. *Nix* thirteen times.

Carved on the East Side of the Western Screen.

131. The arms of the Right Hon. and Rev. Henry, Lord Bayning, High Steward of the Cathedral, who died in 1866; viz., Quarterly; 1 and 4, Sable, three swords in pile points
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downward argent, pommels and hilts or; *Powlett*. 2, Azure, a chevron ermine between three escallops argent; *Townsend*. 3, Quarterly gules and or, in the first quarter a mullet pierced argent; *Vere*. The whole ensigned with a baron's coronet.

On a Mural Monument.

132. Gyronny of eight azure and or, on a chief of the first three annulets of the second. Crest: a garb or.⁹ For William Rolfe, solicitor, who died 13 April 1754, aged eighty-four. Inscription in Latin.

On a Slab in the Floor.

133. A chevron between three bugle horns. For Pexhall Forster, M.A., Precentor, who died 4 October 1719, in his twenty-sixth year. The inscription (for which see Blomefield, iv. 25) is now quite illegible, and the arms are nearly effaced.

Choir.

In the East Window of the Lantern.

134. *The Sea.*

Painted on the Ceiling of the Tower.

135 to 138 inclusive. *The Deanery* four times.

Carved on the Elbows and Misereres of the Choir Stalls.¹

Decani side, beginning at the West.

139. A lion rampant crowned. *Morley*; Argent, a lion rampant sable, crowned or.

140. On a fesse three eagles displayed. *Clere*; Argent, on a fesse azure three eagles displayed or.

⁹ None of the arms given in the Ordinaries for *Rolfe* are at all like these, which resemble those of *Bassingbourne*, with the addition of a chief.

¹ The names and tinctures are those given by Mr. Hart, *Norfolk Archaeology*, ii. 245. See also Harrod's *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, 331.

141. Ermine, on a chief three crosses pattée. *Witchingham*, see No. 8.

142. *Hoo*,² (see No. 7) with a label of two points in chief; impaling Two lions passant. *Le Strange*; Gules, two lions passant argent.

143. A fesse between six croslets. *St. Omer*; see No. 7.

144. An inescutcheon within an orle of martlets. *Erpingham*; Vert, an inescutcheon within an orle of martlets argent.

145. A saltire engrailed. *Tiptoft*; Argent, a saltire engrailed gules.

146. *Witchingham*.

147. *Clere*.

148. A cross engrailed ermine, in the first quarter a crescent. *Berney*; see No. 48.

149. A chevron between three fleurs-de-lis. *Haville*; Gules, a chevron between three fleurs-de-lis or.

150. A fesse between three leopard's faces. *De la Pole*; Azure, a fesse between three leopard's faces or.

Cantor's side, beginning at the West.

151. Quarterly, a cross engrailed, in the second and third quarters a bendlet sinister. *Heydon*; Quarterly argent and gules, a cross engrailed counterchanged.

152. Semée of estoiles, two lions passant.

153. Ermine, two chevronels. This coat, with the chevronels gules, is given by Papworth to *Fermer*, Norfolk, and *Seymour*, Suffolk.

154. *Hoo*; impaling *Le Strange*.

155. *Heydon* (the bendlet dexter); impaling *Le Strange*.

156. On a bend three pairs of wings conjoined. *Wing-*

² The fourth quarter of *Hoo* is shaped as if the coat were a separate one, instead of being impaled; but the coat of *Le Strange* is shaped like an ordinary impalement.

field; Argent, on a bend gules cotised sable three pairs of wings conjoined of the field.

157. Quarterly. *Boville*; ³ Quarterly or and sable.

Carved on a Boss in the Canopy of the Dean's Stall.

158. *The Deanery*; impaling *Pellew*.

Painted on the Sword-irons in front of the Mayor's Seat.

159. The Royal arms; viz., England quartering Scotland and Ireland, with Hanover in a scutcheon surtout ensigned with a crown.

160. The arms of the City of Norwich; viz., Gules, a castle triple towered argent, in base a lion passant gardant or.

Plate.

*On the Choir Screen.*⁴

161. The arms of Henry VI. (in whose reign the Screen was begun) ensigned with a crown and supported by antelopes. Motto: *Domine salcum fac regem*.⁵

162. *The See*; ensigned with a mitre.

163. *The See*; impaling *Bathurst*. See No. 38.

164. *The Deanery*; impaling *Pellew*.

165. *St. Catharine's Hall*.

166. *Thurlow*. See No. 41.

167. *Methold*. See No. 42.

³ "Sir Thomas Wingfield married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir William Boville, before 38 Edward III."—*Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 336.

⁴ The arms of Henry VI. are carved on the top of the Screen; those of the See are carved and painted in the centre compartment; the arms and rebus of Lyhart are carved and painted in the spandrils of the doorway. The other arms are painted on corbels, from which the groining of the upper part springs: date 1833.

⁵ Query, whether this should be regarded as an heraldic motto. Henry VI. seems to have used as his motto, *Dieu et mon droit*.

. 168. *Fisher*. See No. 43.

169. *Wodchouse* See No. 44.

170. *Ridley*; viz., Gules, on a chevron between three falcons close argent as many pellets. Henry John Ridley, M.A., Prebendary 1832, died 1834.

171. *Hart* or *Lyhart*; viz., Argent, a bull passant sable armed and unguled or, in a bordure of the second besantée. Walter Hart or Lyhart, Bishop from 1446 to his death in 1472, built the lower part of the Screen, and also the groined roof of the Nave.

172. The rebus of Walter Hart; viz., a *hart* lying by the *water*.⁵

173 to 184 inclusive. Twelve shields carried by angels, at the feet of the vaulting-shafts of the roof, of which six are charged with the arms of Lyhart and six with his rebus.

On the Slab over Bishop Stanley's Grave.

185. *The See*; impaling *Stanley* with a crescent for difference. See No. 1.

North Aisle of Nave.

Carved on the Screen in the Arch opening into the Transept.

186. *The See*; impaling *Hinds*; ensigned with a mitre. See No. 101.

In the third Window from the East.

187. France modern and England quarterly; impaling Quarterly of four grand quarters; 1 and 4, France modern and England quarterly; 2 and 3, Argent (or?), a cross gules. These are probably the arms of Henry VII., impaling those of his wife, Elizabeth of York. She would bear the first and fourth grand quarters in right of her father,

⁵ A similar play on the word *Walter* is to be seen on a piece of mediæval plate belonging to New College, Oxford. It was the gift of one *Walter Hill*, and is inscribed "*Stabunt aquæ super montes.*"

Edward IV., and the arms of *Ulster* (Or, a cross gules) to mark her descent from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who in 1352 married Elizabeth de Burgh, heiress of Ulster. On Henry VII.'s monument at Westminster the fourth quarter of the impalement is charged with the arms of *Mortimer*. See Boutell's *Heraldry*, 2nd edition, 1863, pp. 150 and 213.

Mural Monuments.

188. On the west side of the tenth pillar from the west. *Hobart*; viz., Sable, an estoile or between two flaunches ermine; with helmet and mantling; the crest is almost entirely gone.

189. On the east side of the ninth pillar. *Hobart*; without the crest and mantling, but with supporters,—dexter, a bird; sinister, a bull. For Sir James Hobart, Attorney-General to Henry VII., who died 1507. See Blomefield, iv. 28.

Slabs in the Floor.

190. Between the tenth and eleventh pillars; A cross (for the *Deanery*); impaling A cinquefoil pierced within a bordure engrailed, a crescent for difference. *Astley*; Azure, a cinquefoil ermine within a bordure engrailed or.—Edmonson.

191. On the same slab, in a large shield with mantling and crest; *Astley*, impaling *Hobart*. Crest, on a chapeau a plume of feathers (argent) encircled with a ducal coronet (or). For Herbert Astley, who married Barbara, daughter and heiress of John Hobart of Hales, Esq.; Prebendary 1662, Dean 1670, died 1681. The larger shield is very much worn, and the inscription (for which see Blomefield, iii. 624) is almost entirely gone. Mrs. Astley's monument, which was "on the north side of the door entering into the ante-choir," is now in the south Triforium of the Nave; but the arms which Blomefield (*ibid.*) says were upon it are gone.

192. Between the eighth and ninth pillars; A fesse

between three crescents. Crest: out of a ducal coronet a crescent with an estoile between the points. For Nathaniel Hodges, M.A., late Fellow [*sic*] of Christ's Church, Oxford, Canon of Norwich and Gloucester, installed Prebendary 2 May 1673, died 28 August 1700, aged sixty-six. Blomefield (iii. 472) attributes these arms to Richard Kiddle, Prebendary 1681, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was killed with his wife in the great storm of 1703. But Edmonson gives for *Hodges*; Or, three crescents sable, on a canton of the second a ducal coronet of the first. Crest: on a ducal coronet or, a crescent sable. Mackerell makes the field azure, the fesse or, the crescents argent.

193. Between the seventh and eighth pillars; A lion rampant gardant; impaling Per pale, a saltire. Crest: a wivern's head between two wings. For Thomas Dalton, Gent., son of John Dalton of Bury St. Edmund's Esq.: who died 26 December 1727, in his twenty-ninth year. *Dalton*; Azure, a lion rampant argent. *Hunt*; Per pale vert and argent, a saltire counterchanged.—Blomefield, iv. 26.

194. Between the sixth and seventh pillars; A cross (for *the Deanery*); impaling A chevron, in chief a label of three points. Crest: an old man's head coupé at the shoulders, on his head a cap. For Humphrey Prideaux, D.D., born 1648, Prebendary 1681, Rector of Saham Toney 1686—1694, Archdeacon of Suffolk 1688, Dean 1702, died 1 November 1724: author of *The Connexion of the Old and New Testaments*. *Prideaux*; Argent, a chevron sable, in chief a label gules. Crest: an old man's head coupé at the shoulders proper, his hair and beard or, on his head a cap gules turned up argent.—Edmonson.

195. Between the fifth and sixth pillars; A cross (for *the Deanery*); impaling Three bull's heads coupé, a crescent for difference. For John Crofts, D.D., Chaplain to Charles I. and II., Dean from 1660 to his death in 1670. For the Latin inscription, the latter part of which is now very much

worn, see Blomefield iii. 624. *Crofts*; Or, three bull's heads couped sable.—Edmonson.

196. Between the third and fourth pillars; in a lozenge, Three castles triple towered. For Elizabeth, fifth daughter of Talmach Castell of Raveningham, Norfolk, Esq., by Eleanor his first wife; who died 7 January 1728, aged eighty-six. *Castell*; Argent, three towers gules.—Edmonson.

197. Between the first and second pillars; On a bend three legs in boots couped at the thigh, a mullet for difference. For "Richard Blagrave, Lay Clerk of this Cathedral Church, who dyed the 10th day of March, 1704, aged 42 years." *Blagrave*; Or, on a bend sable three shambroques argent.—Edmonson.

South Aisle of Nave.

198. Carved on the Screen in the Arch opening into the Transept; *The Deanery*; impaling *Pellew*. Crest: upon waves of the sea the wreck of the "Dutton" East Indiaman upon a rocky shore off Plymouth garrison, all proper.

199. In the fifth bay from the east; *Wodehouse* (see No. 44), painted on a shield in relief under a stained glass window. For Edmond Wodehouse, thirty-seven years one of the Representatives of this County in Parliament, who died 21 August 1855, aged seventy-one; Lucy his wife, daughter of Philip Wodehouse, Prebendary of this Cathedral, who died 21 June 1829, aged forty-three; and six of their children.

200. On a slab between the ninth and tenth pillars from the west; in a lozenge, *Hobart* (see No. 188), with (apparently) two impalements which are effaced except a fesse (for *Cartwright*?) and fleurs-de-lis (for *Mundford*?). For Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edmund Mundeford, Knt.; wife, first of Miles Hobart, Esq., and then of Sir Hugh Cartwright, Knt.; who died 1690, in her eighty-third year. Nearly all that is now to be seen of the inscription (Blomefield

iv. 27) is, "*Hic sepulta Elizabetha Edmundi.*" Edmonson gives for *Mountford* or *Mountfort*, Norfolk, Argent, three fleurs-de-lis gules; and for various families of the name of *Cartwright*, a fesse either charged or between other charges.

201. In the sixth bay from the east; A chevron ermine between three bugle horns stringed; over the tomb of George Gardiner, D.D., twenty-seven years Minor Canon; Prebendary 1565; Rector of St. Martin Outwich, London, 1571; Archdeacon of Norwich 1573; Chaplain in Ordinary to Queen Elizabeth and Dean 28 November in the same year; died in the winter of 1589. For the Latin inscription see Blomefield iii. 621, who blazons the arms of *Gardiner* as Sable, a chevron ermine between three bugle horns argent, stringed or.

202. On a mural monument against the ninth pillar, west side; *The See*; impaling A cross ermine between four bucks tripping; on a chief three crescents. For John Parkhurst, D.D., Bishop from 1560 to his death in 1574. See Blomefield (iii. 555) for the Latin inscription. *Parkhurst*; Argent, a cross ermine between four bucks tripping proper; on a chief gules three crescents of the field.—Edmonson.

203. Engraved on a brass under a stained glass window in the eastern bay of Bishop Nix's chantry; Quarterly; 1 and 4 *Harvey*, viz., Erminois, on a chief indented gules a representation of the gold medal presented to Sir Robert John Harvey for his services at the battle of Orthes, pendant from a ribbon gules fimbriated azure, beneath the word Orthes, between two crescents argent; a canton ermine, thereon a representation of the badge of the Order of the Tower and Sword; 2 and 3 *Onley*, viz., Argent, three piles pilewise gules, on a canton azure a mullet pierced of the first. In pretence *Harvey*, viz., Erminois, on a chief indented gules three crescents argent. Crest: out of a mural crown or a dexter cubit arm erect proper, above it a crescent argent,

between branches of laurel proper. Motto: *Alteri si tibi*. For General Sir Robert John Harvey, K.C.B., K.T.S., Knight of St. Bento d'Avis; born 1785, died 1860.

204 to 229 inclusive. Bishop Nix's Chantry; *The See* seven times; *Nix* (see No. 86) nine times; *The See* impaling *Nix* nine times; *Nix* quartering *the See* once. These shields are on bosses of the groined roof, in the panels of the parapet, in spandrils of the arches, &c.

230. On a mural monument on the west side of the seventh pillar. Azure, on a chevron between three annulets argent five cinquefoils gules. For Thomas Tawell, Esq., of the Precinct of this Cathedral, who died 4 June 1820, aged fifty-seven. He founded the Institution for the Indigent Blind in this city.

231. On a mural monument on the east side of the sixth pillar. Three bars gemelles, over all a lion rampant. Crest: A lion rampant gardant. For Henry Fairfax, D.D., Dean from 1689 till his death in 1702. He was one of the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, who were expelled for refusing to accept the President forced upon them by James II. *Fairfax*; Argent, three bars gemelles gules, over all a lion rampant sable. Crest: A lion rampant gardant sable.

232. On a slab under the next arch westward. *The Deanery* impaling *Fairfax* with the crest as before. For the Latin inscriptions on the monument and slab see Blomefield, iii. 627.

On Slabs in the Floor.

233. Between the fourth and fifth pillars. Ermine, an eagle displayed; impaling, on the dexter side A chevron ermine between three pelicans vulning themselves, on the sinister Two bars and a chief dancette. Crest: An eagle's head between two wings. For Philip Bedingfeld, Esq., "Vir vere generosus, quin et Theologus supra pares suos eximius," who died 24 October 1730, in his fifty-ninth

year. For the inscription see Blomefield, iv. 27. *Bedingfeld*; Ermise, an eagle displayed gules. *Cullum*; Azure, a chevron between three pelicans argent vulning themselves proper. *Hare*; Gules, two bars and a chief dancette or.—Edmonson.

234. Between the third and fourth pillars. A lion rampant, debruised by a fesse chequy; impaling A chevron ermine between three birds. For Mary, wife of William Burleigh, Esq., daughter of Thomas Sayer of Essex, Esq.; who died 3 September 1679. *Burleigh*; Argent, a lion rampant sable, debruised by a fesse chequy or and azure. *Sayer*; Gules, a chevron ermine between three sea mews proper.—Blomefield, iv. 31.

235. Between the second and third pillars. In a lozenge, A bird. Crest: A squirrel sejant, in the paws a nut. For Thomasine, daughter of Clement Corbet, LL.D., Chancellor of the Diocese; who died 5th July, 1665. For the Latin inscription see Blomefield, iv. 25. *Corbet*; Or, a raven proper.—Edmonson.

In the South Triforium of the Nave.⁸

Carved in the Spandrils of an Arch now lying in pieces on the Floor of the Triforium, but formerly in the Wall of the South Aisle of the Choir.⁹

236. Three mitres (for the See); impaling Three hawk's lures, a crescent for difference. John Wakering, Keeper of the Great Seal 1410, Bishop 1416, died 1425, built a chapel on the south side of the choir, to which this door was the entrance. *Wakering*; Argent, three hawk's lures sable.—Edmonson.

237. *Wakering*, impaling A cross, for the Priory. See No. 65.

⁸ Moved here from their original positions by Dean Pellew.

⁹ See Blomefield, iii. 530; and *Castles and Convents of Norfolk*, p. 302.

On Mural Monuments, of which the two first are fixed against the wall, the others are in pieces on the floor.

238. Sable, three bells or. For Edmund Porter, D.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and forty-three years Prebendary, who died 5 October 1670, in his seventy-fifth year. For the Latin inscription see Blomefield, iii. 667, who describes the monument as being between the ninth and tenth pillars, against the wall of the south aisle of the nave, where the memorial to Mr. Edmond Wodehouse (No. 199) now is.

239. A lion rampant debruised by a fesse; impaling Three lions passant. For William Burleigh, Esq., M.A., Counsel and Steward of the Courts to the Dean and Chapter, who died 14 April 1683, in his fifty-fifth year. For the Latin inscription see Blomefield, iv. 31, in whose time this monument was against the west wall of the ante-choir. The impalement, which is not noticed by Blomefield, is not the same as that in No. 234, for *Sayer*. It probably represents the arms of a second wife.

240. *Pepper* impaling *Deaw* (see No. 31). Crest: a lion's head erased. For Robert Pepper, LL.D., Chancellor from 1673 till his death on the 5th of November 1700, in his sixty-third year: who married first Mary, daughter of William Brooke of Norwich, merchant (who died 27 April 1676, in her thirty-fourth year); and secondly Eleanor, daughter of Lumley Deaw, of Bishop's Upton in Herefordshire, who erected this monument. In Blomefield's time, who gives the Latin inscription, iii. 635, this monument was over Dr. Pepper's grave in the choir, on the north side of the sixteenth southern pillar.

241. Sable, in a pair of wings conjoined a pillar or. For Thomas Littell, D.D., of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Chaplain to Lord Keeper Wright, Rector of Tydd in Lincolnshire, and Prebendary from 1700 to his death on the 20th of April 1731, in his sixty-sixth year. This monu-

ment was originally on the south side of the sixteenth northern pillar in the choir. For the Latin inscription see Blomefield, iii. 664.

West Doorway.

Carved on the Spandrels.

242. Three mitres, for *the See*.

243. A cross moline, in a garter with the inscription, "Orate pro anima domini Wilelmi Alnewyk epi." William Alnwyk, LL.D., was consecrated Bishop 18 August 1426, translated to Lincoln in 1436, and died 5 December 1449. He made the western doorway here, and provided by his will for the making and glazing of the west window, "ad decorationem et illuminationem ejusdem ecclesie."—Blomefield, iii. 531. *Alnwick*; Argent, a cross moline sable.—Edmonson.

Carved on the West Doors.

244 and 245. *The See*, and *Alnwyk* as before.

Carved in Panels under Niches on either side of the Doorway.

246 to 249 inclusive. *The See*, *the Priory*, *Alnwyk* twice.

Cloister.

On Slabs in the Floor, North Walk.

250. Per chevron gules and azure, three cock's heads erased; impaling A greyhound courant, on a chief dancetté sable three plates. For Mary, daughter of Dr. Offspring Blackall, Bishop of Exeter, and wife of William Primatt, who died 17 Sept. 1764, in her sixtieth year; and William Primatt, M.A., twenty-three years minister of this Precinct, who died 17 October 1770, aged sixty-eight. Argent, a greyhound courant sable, on a chief indented of the last three besants; *Blackhall* of Exeter.—Papworth. I can find no arms for the name of *Primatt* in Edmonson; those blazoned above are given by Papworth to *Cocks*.

251. Per saltire, on a fesse three fleurs-de-lis. Crest: a demi-lion rampant, charged with a label. For Jonathan Matchett, who died 24 Nov. 1844, aged seventy-two. *Machet*, Norfolk; Per saltire or and vert, on a fesse gules three fleurs-de-lis argent.—Edmonson.

On a Slab in the Cloister Yard.

252. A chevron or between three lion's heads erased. Crest: a demi-lion rampant. For Hannah, wife of William Newton, gent., who died 29 Dec. 1830, in her forty-first year. These arms are nothing like those of Newton as given in the Ordinaries that I have consulted.

The following notes by Mr. John L'Estrange (to whom I am also indebted for the information about William Sekyngton's will, No. 68) reached me too late to be embodied in the paper.

In a clerestory window on the north side of the choir, next to the apse, is a shield which is probably not *in situ*, bearing (apparently) Argent, a lion rampant.

On a boss of the roof of the west walk of the cloister, over the doorway of the Hostry Hall, is a representation of a doorway, which has in its spandrils the arms of the See and the Priory. On an adjoining boss is the emblem of the Holy Trinity, on one side of which a knight in armour is kneeling, with a chevron on his jupon; his wife, who kneels opposite to him, has on the sinister side of her mantle a fesse dancette between three faces.

The inscriptions in the spandrils of the west door (No. 243) are as follows: Dexter side; "Orate pro anima domini Wilelmi Almewyk epi": Sinister side; "Orate pro anima domini Wilelmi Almewyk epi." The word "orate" is partially erased in each inscription, in the dexter one more

completely than in the sinister. The "m" in "Almewyk" is probably meant for "ni."

On the south side of the stone screen across the south transept, over the doorway is carved *The Deanery*.

The late Professor Willis pointed out in 1847 that the clerestory of the choir was the work not of Goldwell, but of Bishop Percy, 1356—1369. Goldwell added the vault and the flying buttresses. Above the vault there remains an open timber roof with boldly moulded principals.

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VAX + LEV
Vicarage
EYE.

Sir,
I am really very sorry
to keep so much of your
type set fast with the
paper on sealed alterations;
hoping to expedite matters
instead of waiting till
tomorrow I send at once
my last proof containing
the alterations (yesterday,
Sunday, received) which

Seal of Alter
explained.

The Dean desires me to
appear in the paper.

Not feeling at liberty to
differ from ^{the Dean, who, is also} the President of
the Society - printing the paper.

I have duly entered the
alterations, priding from
all my correspondents that
the paper is likely to be
very minutely studied.

The post which brings you
this letter & the proof in question

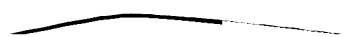
will (if my directions are followed)
also bring you the Wood block
for use in Appendix A. for
which I enclose my two small
sheets of matter.

The complete material of the
Paper will now be in your
hands; & looking at the
importance of the Dean's
suggestion, & the reconciliatory nature
of the subject, I think you
would consider it advisable
that ~~the manuscript~~ two
more copies of the complete
paper sh^d be struck off?

If the Secretaries of the Society
kindly consent, I would most

Seal of Altar
explained.

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On Sealed Altar-Slabs,

WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO ONE FOUND
IN NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. W. H. SEWELL, M.A.,

VICAR OF YAXLEY, SUFFOLK.

AN altar-slab or *mensa* is the slab of stone or of marble which forms the uppermost portion of an altar, and is usually marked with five crosses of equal limbs. The altar-slabs which remain to us from the wreck of ages, and which are not infrequently found in our old country churches, sometimes in the pavement, are usually distinguished by the five crosses marked upon them.

But another kind of altar has lately been brought to notice, and termed a Sealed Altar-slab. It is so termed from the seal or *sigillum* which it contains in its upper surface. What is this seal? We find that the word was used in a technical sense as early as the time of Pope Alexander III., Seal of Altar explained. who died A.D. 1181. For with reference to the consecration of altars he wrote as follows :—

“Ad hæc si altare motum “Besides, if the altar shall
fuerit aut lapis ille solum- have been moved, or that slab
VOL. VIII.] H

*Seal of Altar
explained.*

modo suprapositus, qui sigillum continet, confractus aut etiam diminutus debet denuo consecrari."—Ducange s. v. Sigillum *Alexander III.* P. P. apud Gregorium Lib. iii. Decret. tit. 40, c. i. which is only laid upon it and which contains the seal, shall have been broken or even chipped, it ought to be consecrated afresh."

It is not, however, until the next century that we find an exact statement describing the nature of the seal of which Pope Alexander wrote. This statement occurs in the great work of William Durandus, who was Bishop of Mende in the year 1286. As the passage in his *Rationale* (I. vi. 34) is the *locus classicus* on this subject, I quote it in its entirety.

Although Durandus is the earliest uninspired author who received the honour of being printed, his works in Latin have not, I believe, been published by any modern editor, and old editions are printed very inaccurately. I have therefore extracted the following from the rare *editio princeps* of Durandus on vellum in the British Museum, printed by Fust as early as the year 1459, at Mentz, and compared it with the succeeding editions of Cologne in 1470 and of Rome in 1477.

The Bishop is describing the circumstances under which an altar ought to be re-consecrated, and those under which it ought *not* to be re-consecrated, and writes:—

"Si vero altare modicam exteriorius patiatür læsionem, non ob hoc est reconsecrandum. "If an altar suffers a slight injury on the outside, it is not on this account to be re-consecrated.

"Secundo, reconsecratur altare si altaris sigillum, id est parvus lapis, cum quo sepulcrum sive foramen in quo reliquię reconduntur, "Secondly, an altar is re-consecrated if the SEAL OF THE ALTAR, i.e., the little stone with which the sepulchre or opening in which the

clauditur seu sigillatur motum aut fractum sit.

“Et fit foramen ipsum quandoque in summitate stipitis, et tunc quandoque aliud sigillum non apponitur, sed principalis mensa superposita loco sigilli habetur. Quandoque vero fit in parte posteriori, et quandoque in anteriori.

“In quo etiam foramine in testimonium consecrationis, cautè includi solent literæ consecrantis Episcopi, continentes nomen ejus, et aliorum episcoporum in consecratione præsentium, et in cujus Sancti honorem consecratur altare et etiam ipsa ecclesia, quando simul consecratur utrumque annum quoque et diem consecrationis.

“Tertio reconsecratur altare, si junctura, qua Sigillum foramini vel etiam qua mensa stipiti vel¹ aliud sigillum quod mensa ipsa non est, adhæret,

relics are laid up is closed or sealed, has been moved or broken. *Sent of Altar explained.*

“And the opening is itself sometimes made on the top of the altar-structure, and then sometimes another seal is not used, but the large altar-slab being laid upon it serves in the place of a seal. Sometimes indeed the opening is made in the back part and sometimes in the front part (of the altar).

“In which opening in testimony of the consecration (of the altar) it is usual carefully to enclose a letter of the consecrating Bishop, containing his name, and the names of the other Bishops present at consecration, and of the Saint in whose honour the altar is consecrated, and the church itself, when both are consecrated at the same time; the year also and day of consecration.

“*Thirdly* the altar is reconsecrated if the joining by which the seal is fixed to the cavity or even that by which the table or another seal which is not the table

¹ For “vel” the Mentz ed. 1459, reads “ubi.”

*Seal of Altar
explained.*

mota, vel aliquis ex lapidibus
ipsius juncturæ seu stipitis
mensam vel sigillum tangens
motus vel fractus sit,
itself is fixed to the basement,
be moved, or if any of the
stones of the joining itself or
the basement touching the table
or seal be moved or broken.

in conjunctione etenim si-
gilli et foraminis, atque men-
sæ et stipitis seu structuræ
inferioris, præcipue consecra-
tio intelligitur."—*Rationale* I.
6, 34.
"Upon the fact of the close
joining of the seal with the
opening, and of the altar-slab
with the body of the altar
or sub-structure, consecration
mainly depends."

This passage explains the seal of an altar to be that little stone with which the opening in which the relics are laid up is closed or sealed. A sealed altar-slab is therefore an altar-slab containing a cavity closed by such seal.

One or two other points seem worthy of attention before leaving this passage:—

1. The cavity or opening is technically termed the Sepulchre.

2. This sepulchre may be either in the altar-slab or immediately beneath it, *i.e.*, in the top of the altar-structure.

3. This sepulchre may be in any part, north, south, east, or west, in the altar.

4. The sepulchre contained among other things a *written paper*, recording:—

(a) The fact of the bishop's consecration of it.

(b) The consecrator's name, and the names of other bishops then present.

(c) The name of the church and the saint in whose honour the altar is set apart.

It would also appear from Durandus that the altar-slab itself occasionally served as the seal of the altar. But it is quite certain that it frequently concealed the seal from sight, being lowered upon the seal, in the manner described

in the following rubric, which I take from the fine English *Pontifical* of the fourteenth century, now in the British Museum, and known as Lansdowne 451. On page 115 of that volume the rubric directs :—

Seal of Altar explained.

Altar-slab serving as the Seal; and also hiding it.

“Et si habeantur reliquiæ in altari reponendæ, elevetur ab altari mensa in altum, ad distantiam duorum cubitorum; et ita suspendatur ut possit facile reponi super altare, et non impediatur locus anterior, nec circuitus altaris.

“And if relics are to be had for placing in the altar, let the altar-slab be raised above the altar on high, to the distance of two cubits; and be so suspended as easily to be replaced upon the altar, and not obstruct the front space, nor the circuit of the altar.

“More Romano.”

“In medio autem altaris, in eius vizt. superiori parte fiat confossio sive sepulchrum id est foramen ad magnitudinem palma[e] quadratum, muratum undique tabulis marmoreis vel ligneis, in quo sunt recondendæ reliquiæ; et habeatur alia tabula, quæ sigillum vocatur ad formam dicti sepulchri superponenda reliquiis et sepulchro.”—

“In the middle of the altar, namely in its top, let there be made a compartment or sepulchre, *i.e.* a quadrangular opening the size of a hand, walled up with tablets² of marble or wood. Herein the relics are to be placed; and another tablet must be had, which is called the seal, the size of the said sepulchre, to be laid over the relics and the sepulchre.”

Rubric in *Ordo Romanæ Ecclesiæ ad Benedicend. Ecciam*, in Lansdowne 451, fo. 115.

It will appear, however, from the following rubric in the same *Pontifical* that the reposition of relics seldom took place during that period of the fourteenth century, in which the MS. was being transcribed.

² For a notice and engraving of a sepulchre formed in a single stone, not a mensa, see Appendix A, p. 116.

REPOSITION
OF RELICS in
Roman and
non-Roman
methods.

“Sciendum est tamen quod variis modis recluduntur reliquiae infra altare, licet istis temporibus hoc raro fiat propter reliquiarum antiquarum paucitatem et novorum sanctorum raram canonisationem.

“Tamen si debeat fieri potest expleri prout supra notatur, more Romano mensa altaris pendendo elevata ut predicta et deposita et cementata.

“Aliter etiam secundum alios facta quadrata fossa in altari usque medium apertura patente ante vel retro vel a latere, ita quod possit claudī cum tabula lapidea bene linita et cementata.”—Rubric in *Ordo qualiter Reliquiae ponendae sunt in altare*, in Lansdowne 451.

“It must be known however that relics are reserved in various ways, although in these times it seldom takes place, on account of the scarceness of ancient relics and the infrequent canonisation of new saints.

“However, if it has to be done, it may be performed as above described in the *Roman way*, by suspending the altar-slab of the altar, raised as aforesaid, and lowered and cemented.

“Also otherwise according to others: a square hole having been made in the altar, as far as the middle, the opening showing in front, or at the back, or in the side, so that it may be closed with a stone tablet, well smeared with cement.”

This “stone tablet” was, of course, the “seal” so-named in previous quotations; and the slab in which it was inserted became a sealed altar-slab such as Pope Alexander and Durandus refer to, and such an one as it is the object of this paper to describe.

It may first be mentioned that there was yet another method of repositing relics, namely, by inserting a small consecrated altar-stone containing them, in a large mensa, as appears from the following rubric:—

"Altare in quo sacrosanctum Missæ Sacrificium celebrandum est, debet esse lapideum, et ab Episcopo consecratum; vel saltem aralapidea similiter ab Episcopo consecrata, et in eo inserta quæ tam ampla sit, ut Hostiam et majorem partem Calicis capiat." — *Rubricæ generales Missales*, § xx., De preparatione altaris et ornamentorum ejus.

"An altar at which the Holy Sacrifice of the mass is to be celebrated should be of stone, and consecrated by the Bishop; or at least there should be an altar-stone similarly consecrated by the Bishop, and inserted in it, of sufficient size to hold the Host and the larger part of the Chalice." AN ALTAR-STONE containing Relics.

This method is well illustrated in the accompanying engraving.



(From an Initial Letter in *Lansd.* 451.)

Here the Bishop is represented as holding in one hand a small altar-stone, containing relics, which he is about to insert in the front part of the middle of the mensa of the altar.³

³ This design to a certain extent illustrates, I imagine, the modern form of altar in this country in use under the Roman obedience. The mensa, usually, I believe, of wood, entirely conceals the altar-stone, which alone is consecrated, and is sometimes about four or five inches square.

*Common
Altar-Slabs.*

Many of the old altar-slabs still remain in our churches. Indeed in the Eastern Counties it is somewhat remarkable if an observant archæologist is unable to discover the old slab which by fanatic or puritanic hands has been purposely laid near one of the church doors, where it would most frequently be trodden on.

The slab is usually found broken at one of its corners, or cracked in halves; for it was held to be essential that the altar-slab, as representing Christ the chief corner-stone (Ephes. ii. 20), should be *one* and *entire*.

When an altar-slab has not been laid in the pavement of a church with its upper face downwards, it is to be known by the small crosses, with their limbs of equal length, carefully sculptured, or oftener roughly scratched on its surface. The crosses are five in number, one being placed in the four corners and one in the middle, and are symbolical of the five wounds of our blessed Redeemer.

*Other kinds
of Altars.*

Altars were named from the position in which they were placed; side altars being served by chantry priests in side aisles or chapels; the chief altar in the church or cathedral being termed *Altare majus* or high altar. There was another kind of altar, sometimes called *Super altare* or upper altar, being really a portable altar; such an one of wood, 4 to 6 in. square, covered with a thin silver plate, as was found in the grave of S. Cuthbert in the year 1827. A portable altar, 12 in. by 7½ in., of jasper, the property of the late Dr. Rock, is figured in Parker's *Glossary*; from which work the above particulars are taken.

Dr. Rock has remarked⁴ that this kind of portable altar was "always of some precious costly marble, and, besides its frame of wood, was encased in gold or silver. Like the common moveable altar stone, the super altar was easy of carriage, and might be . . . laid upon an unconsecrated altar built of stone, or on a wooden table for mass."

⁴ *Church of our Fathers*, i. 249, ed. 1849.

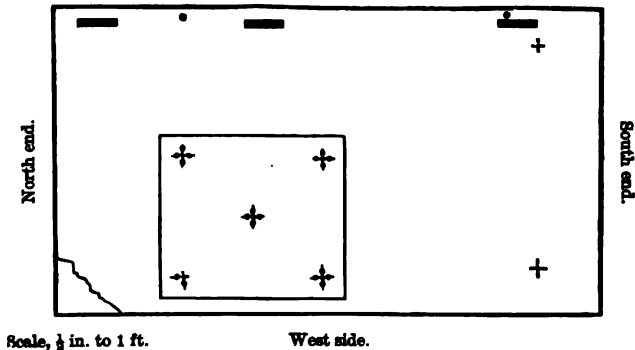
Of an entirely different character is the altar-slab that ^{Other kinds of Altars.} has been discovered in Norwich Cathedral during the restoration which is proceeding under the watchful eye and loving care of the present Dean, Dr. E. M. Goulburn.

I term it an *altar-slab* because I am unable to accept a suggestion made in *Notes and Queries* (where my account of this altar first appeared) that the slab in question may have been the base of a shrine, like the shrine of the Venerable Bede in Durham Cathedral.

The Discovery of the Norwich Sealed Altar.

The Norwich sealed altar was found shortly before April, 1871, on the spot where probably the altar had originally stood, namely, in the pavement of the apse, nearly against the east wall of the Norman chapel which is dedicated to the Blessed Jesus, and which opens out from the north side of the

IN THE JESUS CHAPEL, NORWICH CATHEDRAL.



choir-aisle, and was undergoing restoration. The slab, of which the accompanying is a diagram, was nearly concealed by a huge chest which stood upon it, and was broken in its north-west corner. After having been neatly repaired, it was erected on five columns,—the centre twisted, the others

*The Norwich
Atlas.*

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The Denary.
Norwich.

The Norwich
Seal.

(P. 96)
The Dean has added one correction to those
made by Mr Jewell; and, as he is at
hand, thinks it would be well that he
shd. see ~~the~~ ^{another} ~~him~~ revise when the corrections
are made. Please send again the present Pp.

May 14. 1875.

Mess^{rs}
Miller & Leavins

Its Rationale.



The Norwich p
Altar. ol

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therefore, as will be seen from the diagram, not in the centre, ^{*The Norwich Seal.*} another slab of smaller size appears. It is a piece of marble from the so-called Isle of Purbeck (a peninsular district off the Dorset coast), and measures from north to south $22\frac{1}{2}$ in., and from east to west $20\frac{1}{4}$ in. It is especially to be remarked that when the large Barnack slab was raised from the pavement of the chapel the Purbeck inlay *was solidly fixed in its surface*, although not flush with it, rising above it, in fact, about one quarter of an inch. And, so far as I am aware, it is *the only sealed altar-slab* which has been discovered in this country in its original state, *i.e.*, with the sepulchre *apparently unopened*.

This Purbeck inlay is marked with one-inch crosses, five in number, the equal limbs of which are drilled with small round holes at the extremities, unlike the two crosses visible in the Barnack slab.

From what has already been brought forward, the reader will see that I am of opinion that this Purbeck inlay is nothing else than the Seal or Sigillum spoken of by Durandus, and referred to in the Pontificals. I have little doubt that it was placed in this fine Barnack slab to cover the sepulchre containing the relics of some saint or saints, et cetera.

From the very first a certain reverence has been felt for relics as channels of supernatural grace. It was seen that ^{*Its Rationale.*} by some power, not human, nor naturally appertaining to a material object, and therefore by superhuman power, the mantle of Elijah parted the waters of Jordan (2 Kings ii. 14); and that likewise the corpse of Elisha restored the dead Moabite to life (2 Kings xiii. 21). And after that Christianity had consecrated the body of the Christian to become in a manner unknown before the temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Cor. iii. 17), it was seen that the power of Almighty God was communicated through handkerchiefs and aprons, touched by Saint Paul, to the curing of diseases and the casting out of evil spirits (Acts xix. 12). Increased

*The Norwich
Seal; its
Rationale.*

respect thus came to be shown for the earthly bodies of the saints.⁷ And so great was the reverence felt in the Church for the relics of a departed saint, especially if a martyr, that it was usual before and after the separation of the East from the West, to build altars or churches over their graves, or to introduce their relics into some part of the structure of new altars. At an early date "Relics were considered indispensably necessary" to the consecration of a church. In support of this statement, Messrs. Neale and Webb⁸ refer to the thirty-second Epistle to Severus written by S. Paulinus, Bishop of Nola, who died A.D. 431; and observe that the phrase was "Consecrare ecclesiam de reliquiis Beati N."

It will, however, be seen further on in this paper that the learned canonist Lyndewood did not consider relics to be of the substance of the consecration of an altar.

LATIN USE:
*ONE cavity
or Sepulchre.*

It will be sufficient for my purpose to point out that it was the custom of the Latin Church with regard to relics, either to bury them near the altar,⁹ or beneath the base of the altar, or in the body of the altar, i.e., between the base of the altar and the altar-slab, or to deposit some relics in the slab itself. It is with this last method only of reserving relics that we are at present concerned; and I therefore at once proceed to draw the reader's attention to some altar-slabs in this country, besides that at Norwich, which, I believe, formerly contained relics.

There are two such altar-slabs, each having one cavity or sepulchre in the slab; namely, one discovered in St. David's Cathedral, and brought to my knowledge by the kindness of E. M. Dewing, Esq., the Secretary of the Suffolk

⁷ The reader is requested to refer to Appendix B, p. 117, for the addendum here omitted.

⁸ *Durandus on Symbolism*, Appendix H. p. 236.

⁹ At Peakirk Church, near Peterborough, is a quatrefoil opening in the wall, probably for relics, just to the north of the sill of the east window.

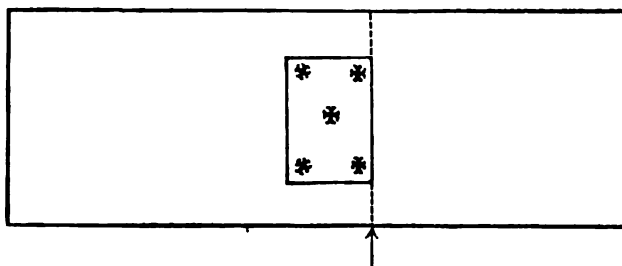
Institute of Archæology; the other being found in the Holy Chapel at Madron's Well, Cornwall.

LATIN USE:
ONE cavity
or Sepulchre.

To the kindness of Canon James Allen, Chancellor of St. David's, &c., I am indebted for particulars relating to this slab, on which I beg to offer the following remarks, for which I am alone responsible.

It will be seen from the accompanying diagram (drawn on the scale of half an inch to one foot) that this fine slab measures 6 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 3 in. The three pieces of which it is composed have been found at various intervals during the last twelve years, and are now laid together between the present altar and the east wall. The large slab is of

IN ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.



oolite, and eight inches thick. The seal, $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $9\frac{1}{2}$ in., is hard purple sandstone of the neighbourhood, two inches thick. There is no moulding on any of its edges, and when laid it so nearly fills the socket as to leave scarce any space beneath it. It has five crosses, as shewn on the diagram. As my correspondent is unable to find any crosses on the large slab, it is possible that they may have been lost, as two of the crosses on the larger slab were at Norwich, by rough usage. It requires an observant and trained eye to notice the two crosses which remain on the larger Norwich slab.

The two ends of the large slab at St. David's have an early chamfer; the front edge, a later one.

I have only to add that other altar slabs have been found in this cathedral, but none like the one now described.

LATIN USE:
ONE cavity
or Sepulchre.
St. David's.

But what description of slab is the small inlay marked with the five crosses? There are two opinions about it: one, that it is a portable altar;¹⁰ the other, that it is the seal of an altar formerly covering relics.

1. *The portable altar theory.* These seem to me some of the chief objections which may be urged against this theory.

(a) A super altar or a portable altar, such as was intended to be carried about from place to place, was small and light in weight. A slab $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. could hardly be considered small;¹ and a stone of that size, two inches thick, as this is, must weigh several pounds.

(b) A super altar was framed in some other material.²

(c) The super altar contained relics between the marble and its wooden or other base, and the portable altar enclosed relics within it, i.e., *its central part was hollow*.

Now, the four edges of the purple stone inlay at St. David's so exactly fit into the mortise as to shew that it could never have been inserted therein, if mounted or framed in a wooden base; and I also suppose it is equally certain that the inlay contains no such cavity in the two inches of its thickness as would hold relics, or any cavity at all.

2. It seems to me therefore to be a Seal, such as we have at Norwich, which is certainly solid, and originally used for the same purpose.

After careful investigation and long enquiry I have

¹⁰ "Into one of these [altar-slabs] a small one of a different material has been inserted. It is 1 ft. 3 in. in length, and 9 in. in breadth, and is apparently a species of super altar, or *altare portatile*, although its insertion into a larger stone is, so far as we are aware, without parallel in the few examples of its class remaining."—Jones and Freeman's *History of St. David's*, pp. 98 and 99.

¹ Two inches by three are the dimensions of a portable altar said by Martene to be preserved in St. Lawrence's Monastery, Liege, (cf. *Archæological Journal*, iv. 242). See also the engraving from the initial letter, given *ante*, p. 93.

² Dr. Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, i. 249.

succeeded in hearing of only one other example of an altar-slab resembling that at Norwich. This second instance is found *in situ* on the property of T. S. Bolitho, Esq., in the Holy Chapel, Madron Well, in the parish of St. Madron, one of the most celebrated Holy Wells in the County of Cornwall; and I am indebted in this instance to the ready courtesy of my correspondent, the Rev. John Smith, Curate in charge of the parish of Madron, for the particulars which I am about to lay before the reader, being myself responsible for the inferences drawn from them.

I may first of all briefly state that the Holy Chapel measures externally only 25 ft. by 16 ft. Its walls, of granite, are two feet thick; and the little chapel encloses in the south-west corner of its miniature nave the holy well, celebrated for the healing property of its waters, as testified both in pre-Reformation traditions and in the works of that honoured bishop of the English Church, Bishop Joseph Hall, who, before he was translated in the year 1641 from Exeter to Norwich, held a solemn enquiry into a miraculous cure alleged to have been worked by Almighty God, by means of the water of this well.³ Speaking of the intercourse which we have with good spirits, the Bishop observes that it⁴ "is not now driven by the eye; but is like to themselves, spiritual: yet not so, but that even in bodily occasions we have many times insensible helps from them in such manner, as that by the effects we can boldly say, Here hath been an angel, though we saw him not. Of this kind was that no less than miraculous cure which, at St. Maderne's in Cornwall, was wrought upon a poor cripple [*n.*, one John Trelille]; whereof, besides the attestation of many hundreds of the neighbours, I took a strict

³ For the communication of this fact I am indebted to my kind correspondent, the Rev. John Smith.

⁴ *The Invisible World Discovered to Spiritual Eyes.* Bp. Joseph Hall's Works, ed. Talboys, Oxford, 1837, vol. viii. p. 372.

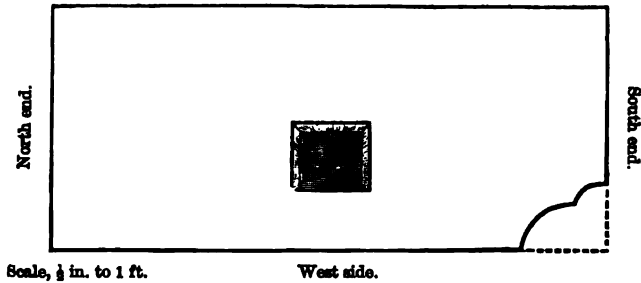
LATIN USE: and personal examination in that last visitation [*n.*, at ONE cavity or Sepulchre.

Madron Well.

Whitsuntide] which I either did or ever shall hold. This man, that for sixteen years together, was fain to walk upon his hands by reason of the close contraction of the sinews of his legs, was upon three monitions in his dream to wash in that well, so restored to his limbs that I saw him able both to walk and to get his own maintenance. I found here was neither art nor collusion; the thing done; the Author invisible."

It is in the chancel of the chapel enclosing this well, thus associated with a bishop of the Diocese of Norwich, that a second example of a sealed altar is found.

IN THE HOLY CHAPEL, MADRON WELL, CORNWALL.



It will be seen from the accompanying diagram that the slab, which is of granite, measures 5 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 7 in. It is $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. The upper surface is only 1 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. from the ground; the under side, consequently, only 13 inches from the ground. It touches the east wall of the chapel, and rests on two granite supports, one towards the north end, the other towards the south; each support being composed of two granite blocks. These two granite supports are the original substructure of the altar, and offered no facility for forming a sepulchre below the mensa, which seems to have been the more general use. Accordingly we find the sepulchre made in the ample thickness of the slab

itself. The cavity is nearly in the centre of the slab, measures 9 in. by 8 in., and is three quarters of an inch deep. This sepulchre, I believe, formerly contained the almost necessary relics, and was no doubt once covered by a seal. Great pains have been taken to search about the chapel for a stone which fits the opening, but without success. Such stone or seal would not be likely to be more than half an inch in thickness; and if not preserved at the bottom of the well, might even, although of granite, have easily been broken in pieces.

LATIN UMR:
ONE cavity
or Sepulchre.

Madron
Well.

I have only to add that this fine slab has suffered the loss of its south-west corner, as shewn in the diagram; and no crosses are visible to my correspondent on any part of its surface.

One other example of a stone seal, measuring 11 in. by 9 in., and having five crosses, has been kindly brought to my knowledge by the Rev. C. R. Manning, as existing in the church of Pulham St. Mary Magdalen in this county, in the pavement of the aisle, at all events up to the time of the restoration in 1873. Enquiry on the spot may perhaps bring this seal to light again, together with the large altar-slab that formerly contained it. "Deest," 7th May, 1875.

Pulham St.
Mary
Magdalen.

I have already observed that it was the custom of the early Catholic Church to build altars over the tombs of saints, or to introduce their relics into churches. The three instances now before the reader may be accepted as typical of the method adopted in the Latin branch of the Church in England. In the Greek branch of the Church, the method of reserving relics was somewhat different, according to the testimony of Goar, the only author within my reach who refers to this subject. That author writes as follows:—

GREEK UMR:
MORE
THAN
ONE cavity.

"Altare . . ἁγία τράπεζα est, sancti convivii mensa, illudque ideo ad instar mensæ suis fultæ columnis, erigunt Græci: in

"The altar . . . is ἁγία τράπεζα, a table of the Sacred Feast, and therefore the Greeks build it like a table supported by its

GREEK USE:
MORE
THAN
ONE cavity.

quo licet martyrum reliquiæ recondantur, non tamen unquam in ea sunt copia ut capsula vel quadrato sepulchro Romano indigeant . . . Græci itaque in columnis illis sacras condunt reliquias vel certe in effoso ipsius sanctæ mensæ lapide et sepulchro eas includunt: ubique fere tamen apertum est et liberum sacræ mensæ spatium suppositum.—Goar, ed. 1647, p. 617.

own columns; in which, although the relics of martyrs be reserved, yet never are they in such abundance as to require a casket or the quadrangular sepulchre of the Roman Church The Greeks accordingly reserve the sacred relics in those columns [which support the altar] . . . or at least they enclose them in a stone orifice and sepulchre in the holy altar-slab itself: nearly everywhere, however, there is an open and free space under the sacred table."

From this it appears that the Greek Church makes use of no casket to contain the relics, which are sometimes reposit in the columns on which the altar-slab rests, or in an orifice formed in the altar-slab itself.

I am not aware that the Greek Church in pre-reformation times ever exercised any influence upon the Latin ritual which prevailed in England. Nor am I aware that any member of the Eastern Church was ever connected with Knaresborough in Yorkshire.

It seems therefore the more remarkable that the parish of Knaresborough should possess an altar-slab which will serve in some manner to exemplify the method adopted by the Greek Church in the reposition of relics. For information respecting this slab I am indebted to the kindness of the son of the Vicar of Knaresborough, namely, the Rev. R. J. Crosthwaite, Vicar of Brayton, near Selby.

Knares-
borough:
St. Robert's
Chapel.

The altar-slab in question is to be found in a cave called St. Robert's *Chapel*. (To avoid confusion I may here paren-

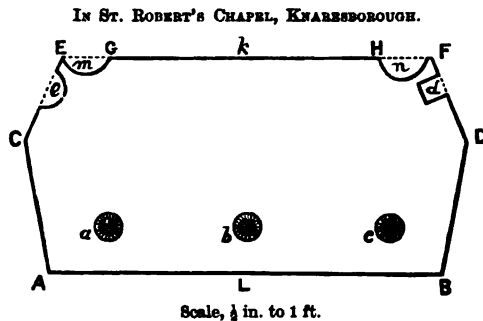
thetically observe that there are two places, *cares*, in this parish, named after St. Robert of Knaresborough, who died in the year 1218, 3 K. Henry III., and who must carefully be distinguished from St. Robert, Abbat of Newminster. The hermitage on the rocky bank of the river Nidd, which was once occupied by the more celebrated but I believe uncanonized Saint Robert of Knaresborough, is about one mile to the east of the town, and is still called *St. Robert's Cave*.⁵

GREEK USE:
MORE
THAN
ONE cavity.
Knares-
borough:

Outside, in front of the cave, foundations have been found of the former Chapel of the Holy Cross, in the rocky ground of which has been discovered a grave surrounded by a groove into which the coffin lid was formerly fixed.)

The other cave in which our interest lies is known in the parish as *St. Robert's Chapel*, and is much nearer the town. It is one of the show places of Knaresborough, and is kept tidy for the purpose. The roof and three sides are solid rock, the fourth side is built by hand and contains the only door and window. The size of the chapel is about 10 ft. long, 8½ ft. broad, and 9 ft. high. It is here that this remarkable altar-slab is found, of which the following is a diagram.

St. Robert's
Chapel.



⁵ For early notices of this cave I am referred by a friend to the Fountains Abbey volume, published by the late Mr. J. R. Walbran for the Surtees Society. (Vol. xlii. pp. 60, 166—171.) This is the cave, also, which is associated with the murder committed by Eugene Aram, for which he was executed at York in 1759; of which event the readers of Lord Lytton's novels will have a vivid recollection.

GREEK USE: The line A B is the front edge of the slab, and measures
MORE 4 ft. 2½ in.; C D, the imaginary line (the exact position of
THAN which, with regard to A B and G H, I have no means of
ONE cavity. determining) measures 4 ft. 7 in.; and G H, 2 ft. 9 in.
Knares- The width of the slab in the centre, K L, is 2 ft. 3½ in.
borough;
St. Robert's
Chapel.

Behind and above the slab is a niche 2 ft. 9 in. broad, and 4 ft. 7 in. high. G H is the front of the niche, and C E and F D adjoin the walls of the chapel. *m* and *n* are bases of shafts supporting the canopy of the niche.

In this slab, which I believe is about 4 in. thick, and is found, I suppose, in its original position, there appear to have been no less than five orifices, in which relics were repositied. Of these five, three, *a*, *b* and *c*, along the front edge of the slab, are round, about 3 in. in diameter, and as deep; *a* and *c* being equi-distant from *b*. The fourth orifice is shewn at *d*, nearly a square; and the fifth at *e*, is of an irregular shape.

The height of this altar-slab is 2 ft. 10 in., the right half of the front edge being somewhat broken. And in front the substructure is ornamented with a row of six roses just below the slab, and next under them with a row of nine geometrical devices. No crosses are reported by my correspondent as visible in this interesting but dark cave: but on opposite sides of the chapel, are niches like piscinæ apparently without drains.

I have now exhausted the examples, at the time of my writing certainly known to exist in England, of altar-slabs which were originally sealed, as those at Norwich, St. David's, and Madron Well; or perhaps left unsealed as the one at Knaresborough last described.

But sealed or unsealed, these four altar-slabs, I believe, alike contained the relics of saints repositied in them, with the greatest solemnity, at the consecration of the church.

The Reposi-
tion of
Relics.

Of the impressiveness of the ceremonial formerly used in England at the consecration of a church and altar, of the admirable skill with which Holy Scripture is introduced

into the service, and of the pathos and poetic beauty of many of the prayers, there can scarcely be two opinions. The reader can form an independent judgment by consulting the English Pontificals we have, dating from the ninth to the fifteenth century; one formerly belonging to Saint Dunstan; one to Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury; one to a Bishop of London in the fourteenth century; one to Bishop Lacy of Exeter in the same century; one to Bishop Clifford, in the fifteenth; and other Pontificals of the dioceses of Worcester, Ely, Coventry, and perhaps Salisbury; but no Pontifical exists specially connected with the diocese of Norwich, so far as I am aware.

The Reposition of Relics.

It is in these Pontificals, which contain all the functions performed by a bishop, that we find the Order for the Consecration of Churches; that order including the ceremonial employed in repositing relics in an altar. It would unduly lengthen this paper if I were to make even a concise abridgment of the ancient Consecration Service; and yet an acquaintance with the Service is necessary to the thorough elucidation of the subject in hand. For a full account therefore of the method of repositing relics in an altar, I beg to refer the reader to a future paper, in which I have made a complete analysis of the former Order of Consecrating a Church, as given in the magnificent Pontifical of Clement VIII., a volume which might worthily occupy a place in the library of every bishop of the present day.

It will appear in the latter part of that Order, that at the proper time in the service, after the relics have been brought to the altar, and the altar-slab got ready, the bishop consecrates the cavity or sepulchre previous to repositing the small casket of relics, &c., therein. He then reverently lays the relics therein, and censes them. Then, having resumed his mitre, he receives in his left hand a tablet or stone, *i.e.*, the seal or *sigillum* of Durandus, with which he proceeds to close the sepulchre.

The Reposition of Relics:

Illustration of.

After examining many Pontificals, both in MS. and in print, I was so fortunate as to find in the printed Pontifical of Clement VIII. an excellent illustration of a bishop in the act of placing the seal upon the sepulchre in the altar-slab; a reduced copy of which engraving is now presented to the reader.

In the centre of the altar-slab is represented the sepulchre. The bishop holds the seal in both hands. The mortar board, with mortar in which is the trowel, is being held by a minister; and the rest is plain.

After the edges of the seal have been mortared, the bishop lays it upon the sepulchre, and commences the antiphons, *Sub altare Dei audiui voces* and *Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt*; both of which the choir successively take up. For the remainder of the ceremonial I must again refer the reader to the analysis of the service, which I propose to give in a future paper.

A few remarks may here be offered with regard to the cavity or sepulchrum; its contents, and the seal that covered it.

THE CAVITY
OR
SEPULCHRE.

The cavity represented in the above engraving is sometimes called *Confessio* as in printed Pontificals; also in MSS. *Confessio*, a place where the relics of a confessor lie buried; sometimes *sepulchrum*, and sometimes *foramen* or orifice. Its depth varied from $\frac{3}{4}$ in., as the one at Madron Well to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., as that in the Jesus Chapel. And its size varied from 9 in. by 8 in., as that at Madron Well, to $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $20\frac{1}{4}$ in. as that at Norwich.

The position of the sepulchre varied also; being perhaps mostly in the middle of the slab, although seen to be on one side in the Norwich slab.

ITS
CONTENTS:
in a casket.

The next question of interest is its contents. *What was contained in this sealed sepulchre?* A casket (*capsa*) or small vessel (*vasculum*) or case (*armarium*) intended probably to be of metal,⁶ is occasionally specified as holding what was

⁶ For an odd story of S. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg, see Appendix C, p. 117.

enclosed in the sepulchre. Authorities seem nearly equally divided in specifying or omitting to specify the use of this small case or casket. *It is specified*, for instance, in the Second Canon made at the second Council⁷ of Cealchythe, A.D. 816; also in the *Rationale*⁸ of Durandus, A.D. 1286; also in the printed Pontifical of Gregory XIII., A.D. 1582, and later ones.

CONTENTS OF
SEPULCHRE
in a casket;

But on the other hand this casket *is not specified* in the Pontifical of Egbert,⁹ A.D. 732, now printed; nor in the Pontifical of Archbishop Dunstan,¹ A.D. 961; nor in the Pontifical of Exeter, Bishop Lacy's, A.D. 1350, also now printed²; nor again in the *Provinciale* of Lyndewood, A.D. 1460.³

We are therefore at liberty, as it seems to me, to suppose that a casket to hold what was deposited in the sepulchre of the altar, *was used* or *was not used*, according to the direction of the consecrating bishop.

What material substances (enclosed or unenclosed) were in ancient times repositied in the altar-sepulchre? From among the earliest of our Church records we find that *relics together with the Holy Eucharist* were placed therein.

i. Relics with
H. Euch.

To this effect is the Second Canon of the Council of Cealchythe, A.D. 816, above referred to, where, with reference to a Church Dedication, it is decreed: "Afterwards let the Eucharist, consecrated by the bishop in the same service, be enclosed with other relics in a casket and kept in the said basilic. And if he cannot inclose other relics yet may THIS profit more than all, because it is the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ."⁴

⁷ Wilkins, i. 169.

⁸ *Rationale*, i. vij. 4.

⁹ Surtees Soc. Publica. Vol. xxvii. p. 46.

¹ Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* lib. II. c. xiii. Ord. iv. tom. ii. p. 257.

² Edited by R. Barnes, 1847, p. 33.

³ Lib. III.; tit. 26, p. 249.

⁴ Wilkins, *ut supra*.

CONTENTS
OF
SEPULCHRE.

i. *Relics with
H. Euch.*

In the Pontifical of our own Archbishop Dunstan, A.D. 961, we also find it was at that time usual to enclose relics together with the Holy Eucharist: "If there are relics, let them be placed with honour under the Confession of the altar, or in a befitting place, with the three particles of the Body of the Lord."⁵

ij. *H. Euch.
alone.*

From the quotation already made from the Second Canon of the Council of Cealchythe, A.D. 816, the reader will have observed that the *Holy Eucharist alone* was sometimes repositied in the sepulchre, when relics were not to be had; and we have the testimony of Bishop Durandus, A.D. 1286, to the same effect. The bishop writes,⁶ "Without the relics of saints, or where they may not be had, *without the Body of Christ*, the consecration of a fixed altar is not effected."

Lyndewood, the great canonist, also refers to the same practice, speaking of it in terms of caution and hesitation, in consequence, no doubt, of the change that was being effected in his time (*circa* A.D. 1446) in the matter. He writes thus:⁷ "Although relics are not of the substance of the consecration of an altar, yet when there are no relics, some are wont to put there the Lord's Body: and some Doctors say that this ought to be done, even though there are relics. And although this might be said to be true in reference to the consecration of a church, . . . yet I do not think that it is true at the consecration of an altar; to wit, that the Lord's Body be buried in the altar in the place of relics (*loco reliquiarum*), though the common opinion makes for the contrary."

It is thus far clear that relics, together with the Holy Eucharist, or the Holy Eucharist alone, was in certain periods repositied in the sepulchre of the altar.

In addition to relics and the Holy Eucharist, three *grains of incense* were also repositied there.

⁵ Martenc, *ubi supra*.

⁶ *Rationale*, I. vii. 23.

⁷ Lib. iii., tit. 26, p. 249.

In the Pontifical of Egbert, A.D. 732, above referred to, it is directed: "Then he (the bishop) places within in the confessio three portions of the Lord's Body, and three of incense; and the relics are inclosed." CONTENTS
OF
SEPULCHRE.

iii. Relics,
H. Euch.,
together with
Incense.

The same custom of inclosing grains of incense appears in Bishop Lacy's Exeter Pontifical, A.D. 1350: "Next (the bishop) places grains of incense within, and then the relics are laid in the confessio. Next he censes the relics, and receiving a tablet, he both blesses it, saying *Consecratur hæc tabula, &c.*, and lays the tablet over the relics."⁶

The custom of thus adding three grains of incense to what is enclosed in an altar sepulchre, a significant act, and not objectionable, continued, and appears in those printed Pontificals of the sixteenth century which I have had the opportunity of consulting. Objection, however, was felt from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century to the custom of placing the Holy Eucharist in an altar sepulchre; and expression was given to this feeling by Cardinal Hostiensis in the year 1262;⁷ by Baipho, "the Archdeacon," in the year 1283;¹ by Nicholaus Tudeschus in the year 1428;² by John Torquemada in the year 1439;³ and by Lyndewood himself before the year 1446,⁴ who writes: "The Body of Christ is the food of the soul, which ought not to be kept except for the use of the sick and the refreshment of the soul." Objections to
reposition of
H. Euch.

For references given in the foot notes to the above ecclesiastics, I am indebted to the kindness and learning of my friend the Rev. W. E. Scudamore, Rector of Ditchingham,

⁶ Exeter Pontifical, *ubi supra*, p. 33 (*Reconditio Reliquiarum*.)

⁷ *Summa Aurea*, L. iii. De Consecra. Eccl. § 3, Placuit. fol. 225. Lugd. 1538.

¹ *Rosarium*, Comm. in Grat. Decr. P. ii. (iii.) de Consecra. Dist. i. fol. 389. Ven. 1601.

² De Consecra. Eccl. v. Alt. c. i. ad hæc: super iii. Decr. fo. 176 b.

³ In Grat. Comm. P. iii. Dist. i. c. Placuit; tom iv. p. 20. Ven. 1573.

⁴ Prov. iii. 26, note m.

CONTENTS OF SEPULCHRE. who has otherwise assisted me in this paper by his suggestions and the loan of rare books in his library.

Its discontinuance.

The objections thus raised to the custom of repositing the Holy Eucharist in altar-sepulchres were felt to be of such weight at Rome, where the practice is thought⁵ to have originated, that it quietly ceased in England a century or more before the reformation; and indeed no reference is to be found to it in the Exeter Pontifical of A.D. 1350.

iv. A MS.

From that period it seems to have been usual only to enclose relics, three grains of incense, and a MS. recording the particulars of the consecration of the altar. The MS. is referred to as far back as the time of Durandus, 1286, and is mentioned in all the modern printed Pontificals I have been able to consult. But I have never heard of any such MS. being found by antiquaries, nor indeed of any form of casket holding it with the relics.

THE SEAL which covered the Sepulchre.

The seal of the sepulchre is, as we have seen, termed *sigillum*, sometimes *tabula* (tablet), or merely *lapis* (stone). Its shape, of course, corresponded to the size of the sepulchre, into which it was laid with mortar or cement; and its thickness varied from perhaps half an inch, which I suppose to be the thickness of the seal at Madron Well, to 2½ inches, the average thickness of the seal in the Norwich altar.

I have now to describe the raising of this seal from the sepulchre in the Norwich slab.

The Removal of the Norwich Seal from its Sepulchre.

The Seal at Norwich raised.

On the 20th day of May, in the year 1871, in the presence of the Dean of the Cathedral, Dr. E. M. Goulburn; the Chapter Clerk, W. T. Bensly, Esq., LL.D., and Mr. Spauall, clerk of the Cathedral works, the Purbeck seal was raised by Mr. Elijah Farrow, a skilled workman,

⁵ See further on this question in Appendix D, p. 118.

from the cavity which for many years it had firmly covered. After the examination of the interior, great care was taken to replace it in the same position in which it was found imbedded. *The Seal at Norwich raised.*

The Purbeck seal was found to have been embedded in mortar of the usual kind. The average thickness of the seal was found to be $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches; and the average depth of the cavity or sepulchre was found to be $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches; and although the seal was found rising above the large slab one quarter of an inch, yet such was the profusion of mortar used, that a very shallow cavity, or scarce any, was left between the seal and the bottom of the sepulchre.

Description of the previously hidden part of the Seal.

When the seal was raised from its cavity, it was found that its under surface is completely rough, and has nothing remarkable. Of its four sides, only its western one is perfectly straight; and here the seal, being left rough, seems to have been sawn off a larger slab. Its east and north sides are not entirely straight; the thickness of the seal on each of these sides being divided into a straight part, which bears the rough mark of the saw, and a hollowed chamfer or moulding, which clearly is polished. But its south side is different, being polished both in its straight part as well as in its hollow moulding. *Described.*

It seemed not unlikely that a casket with enclosures would be found; but this expectation was not realized. Nothing of the form of a *vasculum*, containing a small MS. or parchment, was discovered. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility of the relics of some saint, with a few grains of incense, and perhaps even some particles of the Holy Eucharist, being repositied there. But nothing of the kind was seen on a careful scrutiny by the observers

*The Seal at
Norwich
described.*

then present; nor did I myself, on afterwards examining the sepulchre, notice anything worthy of observation.

Now, if the casket containing the relics were not removed by some devout person, to save them from being sacrilegiously disturbed in troublous times—a not impossible supposition—it seems certain that a casket was not used. The relics were, I believe, generally so small that even careful observation might fail,⁶ and in this instance did fail, to discern anything except the encasing mortar. And with regard to the parchment, although Durandus notices the practice, I doubt whether it was generally adopted until after it had been prescribed in the Roman Pontificals of the sixteenth century and later, when such direction would not apply to England.

With regard to the date of the Purbeck seal, parts of which are unquestionably polished, I am unable to speak with certainty; but I have been informed that Purbeck marble is not known to have been polished before the Early English period, say A.D. 1190—1290. But, of course, it does not necessarily follow that this Norman *mensa* received its Early English seal at so early a date as 1290. Until better informed, therefore, I should say that this seal may have been placed over its sepulchre at any time between A.D. 1190 and the commencement of the reformation in 1537.

The sepulchre may have contained, and indeed most probably does still contain, some small relic of a saint, which the Prior of the Cathedral had presented to him, or procured from Rome, on the occasion of the Chapel of the Blessed Jesus being dedicated, or even re-consecrated, to the service of Almighty God.

⁶ This view is supported by three correspondents, one of whom writes (1st May, 1875), "I have seen many reliquaries containing vouched relics from the Office in Rome, and in most cases the particles have been exceedingly minute, sometimes barely visible to the naked eye;" and they would probably with time shrink into smaller dimensions.

A word or two may be added on the extreme rarity of sealed altar-slabs in England. I do not think that they have been named or noticed by any ecclesiologist, Catholic or Roman Catholic; I do not remember that the late Dr. Rock names them in either of his books. For several years I have observed ancient altar-slabs in the Eastern Counties, and have taken rubbings of some of them; but I have never seen any other sealed altar-slab than that at Norwich, and at present know of no others except those already mentioned, although further examples may no doubt be brought to light.⁷ I can only account for the rarity of this form of altar-slab, by supposing that it was anciently *the general practice* in England to reposit the relics, etc., in a sepulchre formed on the top of the sub-structure of the altar; the altar-slab itself being first suspended above the altar "*more Romano*,"⁸ and then lowered so as to cover the sepulchre as well as its small seal, if used, or being itself a

Sealed Altar-slabs, why so rare.

⁷ Referring to the illustrations given in Parker's *Glossary of Architecture*, I should be disposed to conjecture that the altars will be found to be, or to have been, sealed altar-slabs (*not necessarily sealed on the top*), which exist at these places:—

Chipping Norton, near Burford, Oxfordshire, in the chapel attached to the north side of chancel.

Warmington, Warwickshire.

The chapel, Broughton Castle, Oxon. This slab is especially deserving of notice, being marked not with the usual five, but nine crosses, as Dr. Rock has stated (*Church of our Fathers*, i. 245.)

Possibly at Tichborne, Hants, in the Tichborne chapel.

And that the altar mensæ are perhaps themselves large seals, with sepulchre containing relics immediately below, in the middle of the top of the substructure, those namely at the following places:—

The high altar of Arundel Church, Sussex.

The altar of Wenlock Priory, Shropshire.

The mensæ is gone from the existing substructure of the altar in Enstone Church, Oxon, which makes it especially worthy of observation.

⁸ See Rubric already quoted from a 14th century Pontifical.—Lansdowne, 451, *ante* p. 91.

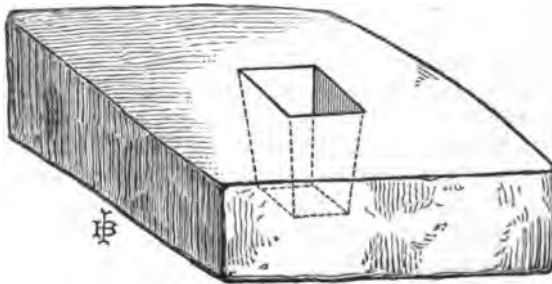
Sealed Altar-slabs, why so rare.

large seal, as Durandus says. And although from some Pontificals (*e.g.*, that of Clement VIII.) it would appear to be even a usual way to make the sepulchre in the slab itself; yet in this last-named Pontifical, and I believe in most or all others, a special service is added for the consecration of an altar where the sepulchre is in the middle of the top of the sub-structure: *De consecratione altaris cujus sepulchrum reliquiarum est in medio summitatis stipitis.*

In the demolition of altars at the time of the English Reformation, not only were the slabs (*mensæ*) removed and sometimes broken; but the sub-structures also, which contained the sepulchre of relics, were pulled down. All traces of the reposition of relics were thus obliterated, except in those few instances of sealed altar-slabs in which obliteration was impossible.

APPENDIX A.—p. 91.

While these pages were passing through the press, I received from the Rev. J. H. Blunt, Rector of Beverstone, near Tetbury, a valuable illustration of a portion of the preceding paper, consisting of a sketch of a stone found among fragments of sculpture under the Altar of Tewkesbury Abbey Church. The accompanying woodcut, on the



scale of 1 in. to 1 ft., represents the stone, which measures 21 in. by 17½ in., and is of an irregular thickness, varying from 7½ in. to 5½ in. "The cavity is 5 in. square on the one side, diminishing to 3 in. square on the other."

It may be termed a *Sepulchre-stone*, and is in fact a stone in which has been formed a Sepulchre for Relics. I have no doubt that it was formerly set in the top of the substructure of the Altar, being covered perhaps with a small Seal, certainly with a large Altar-slab.

APPENDIX B.—p. 98, line 1.

It seems to have been held, that as the Holy Ghost tabernacles in the Christian so that the Saint is made a partaker of Christ (Heb. iii. 12), of His holiness (Heb. xii. 10), and even of the Divine Nature itself (2 Peter i. 4), the Body of the Saint, after decease, was holy still; its resting-place was truly a holy sepulchre, and the tablet by which the sepulchre was made sure (S. Matt. xxvii. 64), serving the same purpose as the Seal which kept the first Holy Sepulchre from unhallowed intrusion (S. Matt. xxvii. 66) was naturally enough called by that name.

APPENDIX C.—p. 108, last line.

I am indebted to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, Rector of East Mersea, for the following extract from one of his works:—

“A curious story is told of S. Otto, Bishop of Bamberg (d. 1139) by his contemporary biographer. The bishop went to the little church of Buckelback to remove from the altar the relics inclosed in it, intending to translate them to a better place. He took with him his clergy, and after fasting and prayer, ordered some of them to break the leaded seal which fastened the locker in the altar-slab in which were the relics. They hesitated, thereupon Otto himself took the bar and struck at the seal, whereupon the red wax under it oozed out on the altar like gouts of blood, and so frightened the bishop that he fainted away. On his recovery, scared at the thought of having unintentionally committed sacrilege, he fled to the Michaelsberg Abbey, and implored his friend Wolfran, the abbot, to receive him as monk, that he might escape the responsibilities and dangers of the episcopal office.

“The abbot, seeing him frightened, made him at once take the vow of obedience to him, and then said calmly, ‘On your obedience I enjoin you to return to the discharge of your episcopal duties,’ and he sent him back to the government of his see.”—*Lives of Saints*, July 2nd, p. 54.

APPENDIX D.—p. 112, line 5.

Upon this point Mr. Scudamore supplies me with the following important note:—

That the practice came from Rome is certain. In Martene, *De Ant. Eccl. Rit.* Lib. ii. c. xiii. is an Order of Consecration of a Church, printed from an English Pontifical of the latter part of the eighth century, found in a monastic library at Jumièges. This is followed in the MS. by an Order of Reconciliation of a polluted Church; and then follows a third and distinct order with this heading, *Incipit Ordo quomodo in sancta Romanâ Ecclesia reliquiæ condantur*. The direction as to the Eucharist is as follows, “Deinde pontifex [*supply ponit from Egbert*] tres portiones Corporis Domini intus in confessione altaris et tres de incenso; et recluduntur intus reliquiæ.”—Ordo iii. tom. ii. p. 254. The Order for the inclosure of the relics has the same heading in the Pontifical of Dunstan, A.D. 961.—*Ibid.* Ordo iv. p. 257. There it comes after the consecration of the ornaments of the Church, and a final prayer entitled *Benedictio generalis ad cultum Ecclesie*. Here also, then, it is an *addition* to the recognized and more ancient form of dedication in use among us.

Only in the earlier Pontifical of Egbert (A.D. 732—766) is there an attempt to *incorporate* the Roman practice. The heading is there omitted, and the direction for the burial of the Eucharist is inserted between the prayer for the dedication of the church and those for the consecration of its ornaments.—*Ibid.* Ordo ii. p. 249.

The foregoing facts throw light on the Canon of Cealchythe:—“When a Church is built, let it be consecrated by the Bishop of the same Diocese; let water be blessed by him in person, and sprinkled, and all performed in order as in the Service Book.” Here the old English rite ends; but the Canon, A.D. 816, proceeds: “*Afterwards* let the Eucharist,” &c., (as quoted in p. 109).

I may add that we meet with the observance of the Roman rite by Popes themselves. Leo IX. (*Nich. Tudesch.* fol. 176, b.: Lugd. 1503) and Urban II. (*Ann. Bened.* tom. v. p. 364) are mentioned as having buried the Eucharist when consecrating churches. Benedict VIII. ordered it to be done in a particular instance.—*Acta O.S.B.* sæc. vi. pt. i. p. 168. These examples occur in the eleventh century. I have met with none after the adoption of the doctrine of transubstantiation in 1215, and not long after that Innocent IV. (1243—1254), having his attention called to the subject by Cardinal Hostiensis, expressed his disapproval of the practice after consultation with several eminent persons.—Host. *Summa Aurea*, L. iii. De. Cons. Eccl. § 3, c. *Placuit*. The text (pp. 110, 111) shows, however, that in some parts of the West it was observed much later.

On Walsoken Pardons.*

BY

THE LATE JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

No. 397. *Patent Roll, 2 Henry V. part 3, m. 10.*

De Cantaria fundandam.

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali et intime ut pie operis subsequenter participes effici valeamus concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est Galfrido Colvyly Armigero Johanni Fynne Capellano, Ricardo Blaber Capellano, Roberto Flete Capellano, Ade Wykene, Johanni Langham de Wysebeche et Ade Baryng de Walsoken quod ipsi ad laudem Dei et honorem Sancte Trinitatis quandam fraternitatem sive gildam perpetuam de se ipsis ac de aliis personis tam hominibus quam mulieribus qui eorum devocione de fraternitate sive gilda illa esse voluerint in quadam Capella Sancte Trinitatis juxta fossatum vocatum le Stathedyke in Walsoken situata de novo incipere inire facere

* This Paper was originally intended by the late learned and lamented author for the Society of Antiquaries; but he was induced to make it a contribution to our Norfolk Society: it is believed to be the last Paper that proceeded from his pen, and was left by him somewhat incomplete.

fundare ordinare et stabilire ac personas illas et alias quas-
 cunque eis grato animo imposterum inherentes et fratres et
 sorores fraternitatis sive gilde predictæ recipere admittere
 et acceptare possint et quod fratres fraternitatis sive gilde
 predictæ cum sic incepta inita facta fundata ordinata et
 stabilita fuerit et successores sui singulis annis imperpetuum
 de seipsis unum Magistrum sive Custodem qui regimen
 gubernacionem et supervisum fraternitatis sive gilde hujus
 ad custodiam omnium terrarum tenementorum redditum
 possessionum bonorum et catallorum que eidem fraternitati
 sive gilde exnunc adquiri dari sive assignari seu ad eandem
 fraternitatem sive gildam quoquo modo pertinere contingent
 habeat eligere ordinare et successive constituere ac Magis-
 trum sive Custodem illum de tempore in tempus cum opus
 fuerit et expediens amovere et exonerare, et alium ejus
 loco et nomine pro ut eis placuerit ponere et substituere,
 necnon communitatem inter se et de se ipsis facere et inire,
 et sigillum commune pro negociis et agendis fraternitatis
 sive gilde predictæ deserviturum habere et exercere possint
 et quod idem Magister sive Custos pro tempore existens
 habeat et gerat nomen Magistri sive Custodis fraternitatis
 sive gilde in Capella Sancte Trinitatis juxta fossatum vocatum
 le Stathedyke in Walsoken scituata ac quod idem Magister
 sive Custos per hujus nomen necnon fratres et sorores fra-
 ternitatis sive gilde predictæ et successores sui sint persone
 habiles et capaces ad terras tenementa redditus et alias
 possessiones quascunque perquirendum et ad eadem terras
 tenementa redditus et possessiones ac alias terras tenementa
 redditus et possessiones quecumque que eidem fraternitati
 sive gilde seu Magistro aut Custodi ejusdem fraternitatis
 sive gilde pro tempore existenti ad usum sive commodum
 predictæ fraternitatis sive gilde dari legari adquiri seu quovis
 alio modo in futurum concedi seu assignari contigerit re-
 cipiendum et tenendam idemque Magister sive Custos et
 successores sui per hujus nomen pro fraternitate sive gilda

illa ac pro terris tenementis redditibus possessionibus bonis et catallis ejusdem fraternitatis sive gilde in quibuscunque actionibus et placitis tam realibus et personalibus quam mixtis cujuscunque generis sint vel nature in quibuscunque Curiis placeis et locis nostris et heredum nostrorum ac in Curiis locis et placeis aliorum quorumcumque infra regnum nostrum Anglie coram Judicibus secularibus et ecclesiasticis quibuscunque juxta juris exigenciam placitent et placitentur ac placitare et implacitare possint et debeant necnon omnia alia facere et recipere pro ut et eodem modo quo ceteri ligei nostri persone habiles et capaces faciunt et facere ac recipiunt et recipere poterunt in quibuscunque locis et placeis predictis et quod predictus Magister sive Custos ac singuli fratres fraternitatis sive gilde predictae et successores sui congregaciones licitas fratrum et sororum ejusdem fraternitatis sive gilde facere ipsique convenire locis et temporibus oportunis ad tractandum et ordinandum necnon ad statuta et ordinaciones pro saniori regimine et gubernacione fraternitatis sive gilde predictae ac fratrum et sororum ejusdem secundum necessitatis exigenciam faciendum quociens et quando opus fuerit et necesse valeant libere et impune in perpetuum. Concessimus eciam pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est prefatis Galfrido, Johanni, Ricardo, Roberto, Ade, Johanni et Ade quod ipsi vel eorum aliquis per se aut per eorum seu alicujus ipsorum executores unam duas tres vel quatuor Cantarias perpetuas videlicet quamlibet earundem de uno Capellano divina in Capella predicta pro bono statu predictorum Galfridi, Johannis, Ricardo, Roberti, Ade, Johannis et Ade seu alicujus eorum dum vixerint et pro animabus eorum aut alicujus ipsorum cum ab hac luce migraverint, necnon pro bono statu fratrum et sororum fraternitatis sive gilde predictae et eorum successorum necnon eorum animabus cum ab hoc seculo decesserint et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum juxta ordinacionem predictorum Galfridi, Johannis, Ricardi, Roberti, Ade, Johannis, et

Ade vel alicujus eorum seu executorum suorum predictorum in hac parte faciendam celebraturo imperpetuum similiter facere fundare et stabilire possint et quod iidem Galfridus, Johannes, Ricardus, Robertus, Adam, Johannes et Adam vel eorum aliquis seu eorum vel alicujus ipsorum executores ad hujus Cantarias sive Cantariam cum sic facte fundate et stabilite fuerint sive facta fundata et stabilita fuerit quasdam personas idoneas sive quandam personam idoneam presentare possint vel possit. Et quod predictus Magister sive Custos fraternitatis sive gilde predicte et successores sui Magistri sive Custodes ejusdem fraternitatis sive gilde in singulis vacationibus Cantariarum predictarum sive Cantarie predicte sive sit per mortem resignacionem per mutacionem vel cessionem predictorum Capellanorum sive predicti Capellani ad Cantarias predictas sive Cantariam predictam ut premittur primo presentandorum sive presentandi et successorum suorum temporibus futuris quosdam alios Capellanos sive quandam alium Capellanum sufficientes et idoneos seu sufficientem et idoneum ad predictam Cantarias sive Cantariam presentare possint in perpetuum Concessimus insuper et licenciam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris predictis quantum in nobis est Johanni Claycroft de Wysbeche et Nicholao Chawell de Walsoken quod ipsi unum mesuagium et triginta et duas acras terre cum pertinentibus in Walsoken ac Capellam predictam infra mesuagium illud scituatam que de aliis quam de nobis tenent in capite dare possint et assignare predictis Magistro sive Custodi fraternitatis sive gilde predicte cum sic incepta inita facta fundata ordinata et stabilita fuerit ac fratribus et sororibus ejusdem Fraternitatis sive gilde Habend' et tenend' sibi et successoribus suis in auxilium supportacionis onerum eidem Magistro sive Custodi et fratribus et sororibus et successoribus suis imposterum incumbencium imperpetuum. Et eisdem Magistro sive Custodi ac fratribus et sororibus fraternitatis sive gilde predicte cum sic incepta inita facta fundata ordinata et

stabilita fuerit quod ipsi mesuagium Capellam et terram predictam cum pertinentibus a prefatis Johanne Claycroft et Nicholao recipere possint et tenere sibi et successoribus suis predictis in auxilium supportacionis onerum predictorum in forma predicta sicut predictum est imperpetuum tenore presentium Similiter licenciam dedimus specialem Statuto de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponendis edito non obstante Nolentes quod iidem Galfridus, Johannes, Ricardus, Robertus, Adam, Johannes, Adam, Johannes et Nicholaus vel heredes sui seu predicti Magister sive Custos fratres et sorores seu successores sui ratione permissorum per nos vel heredes nostros Justicios Escaetores Vicecomites aut alios Ballivos seu Ministros nostros vel heredum nostrorum quoscunque inde occasionentur inquietentur molestentur in aliquo seu graventur Salvis tamen nobis et aliis Capitalibus dominis feodi illius serviis inde debitis et consuetis. In cujus, &c. T. R. apud Westmonasterium secundo die Februarii.

Per ipsum Regem et pro Centum solidis solutis in hanaperio.

At Walsoken, near Wisbeach, there formerly existed for more than a century and a half a small religious establishment, which was designated as the "College or Hospital of the Holy Trinity."

Blomefield gives but slight notices of this foundation, and they are chiefly derived from other documents like the present. "In this parish (he states) was a chapel dedicated to the Holy Trinity, at the place called the Stathe Ditch, in which was a famous guild or fraternity, with custos or master." But as to the particular objects of the foundation, or of the fraternity by which it was occupied, the Norfolk

historian affords no information. The locality, I am kindly informed by Mr. Davies, was an acre of ground, now part of the glebe of the rectory, by the side of the road leading from Walsoken to Wisbeach. It was close to the old wall or embankment, supposed to have been formed in Roman times, which kept in the waters of the Wash, and at that time extended to Wisbeach. The floods had made a breach near this spot and formed a large pool, which still remains, and is used for washing sheep. The old name of "The Stathe" shews, further, that a landing-place was adjacent; for so at Norwich, by the side of the river, there is (or was) the Five-Bridge Key or Stathe.¹

But though Blomefield knew nothing of the objects of the foundation, he was prompted to term it "famous," because he had met with several examples of its Charters of Pardon, such as this now before us.

The College or Hospital of Walsoken evidently acquired its peculiar importance from being what was termed "privileged," that is to say, endowed with the vicarious power of imparting certain spiritual indulgences sanctioned by the Pope. These were first obtained in the pontificate of Urban VI., which lasted from 1378 to 1389; and they are said to have been confirmed by his several successors, Boniface IX., Martin V., Nicholas V., Paul II., and Sixtus IV.

They are set forth as follows: to those who aided the house from their substance, or by their benefactions constituted themselves members of this holy fraternity, the Pope released yearly the seventh part of the penance enjoined upon them. He granted them three years and a hundred days of pardon as often as they performed this, or merited it; and also plenary participation of all masses and other prayers made, or hereafter to be made, in the Universal

¹ Map in Blomefield's *History*, published September 29th, 1746.

Church, even if the churches to which they belonged should be interdicted. If they should happen to die either excommunicated or interdicted by name, or should be public usurers, Church sepulture should not be denied to them; and the curates having the cure of their souls might absolve them from all their sins confessed and contrite, and even if forgotten, except they had committed such as the Apostolic See rightly claimed to be consulted upon; and, moreover, plenary remission at their last hour, *in extremis*, of all sins.

Such were the presumptuous indulgences which the Church of Rome was in that age ready to sell to any willing purchaser, and the same were retailed at very moderate rates to the faithful penitents at other stations of no greater importance than this small Norfolk hospital. This was, in reality, a device by which the laity were supposed to place themselves in a position of equal advantage with the religious orders, in respect to a state of acceptance with heaven; just as, in somewhat earlier times, men of large possessions, when despairing of recovery to health, made a summary purchase of admission to monasteries, and, as Milton expresses it, "to be sure of paradise, dying put on the weeds of Dominic."²

Smyth, in his *Lives of the Berkeleys*, thus explains this phase of religious sentiment: "Lay people of all sorts, men and women, married and single, desired to be enrolled in spirituall fraternities, as thereby enjoying the spirituall prerogatives of pardon, indulgence, and speedy despatch out of purgatory." — Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeley Family*, MS. iii. 443.

Foxe, in that chapter of his *Acts and Monuments of the Church* in which he relates "The Life, Actes, and Death of the famous and worthy Councillor, Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex," tells a story how Cromwell in his early life,

² *Paradise Lost*, Book iii. 479.

being at the Court of Rome, when as yet he "had no sound taste nor judgment of religion," promoted a suit there in progress for a guild at Boston, which possessed a papal privilege corresponding to this of Walsoken. It was designated the "Guild of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston." It had received its first privilege of pardon from Pope Nicholas V., who reigned from 1455 to 1458, consequently almost a century later than the privilege of Walsoken; and the same had been confirmed by two subsequent popes, Pius II. (1458—1464) and Sixtus IV. (1471—1484). It was about the year 1510, as Foxe suggests, that Cromwell assisted in procuring a fresh confirmation from Pope Julius II., and in 1526 the same pardon was again confirmed, at the request of King Henry VIII., by Pope Clement VII. It accorded to those who visited the chapel of our Lady in St. Botolph's church the same pardon as if they visited the chapel of Scala Coeli, or that of St. John Lateran, at Rome.

Foxe's story in regard to Cromwell and Pope Julius II. is, that the young Englishman, who knew his Holiness's personal weakness in liking "new-fangled strange delicacies and dainty dishes," cajoled him into a ready compliance with the suit of the Boston men, by "preparing certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best fashion, made after our country manner here in England, which to them at Rome was not known nor seen before. And thus (writes Foxe) were the jelly pardons of the town of Boston obtained, for the maintenance of their decayed port;" for, like the Ephesians of old, the Boston men well knew what "gain came to their town by that Romish merchandize, as all superstition is commonly gainful."

Foxe gives, in English, "the effect and contents of the Boston pardon," a very curious document not brought into the collection of the late Mr. Toulmin Smith, but copied in the *History of Boston* by Pishey Thompson, together with

large particulars of the several other guilds in that town upon which Mr. Toulmin Smith has not touched.

When such religious guilds were fully established in their functions, and became objects of frequent resort with penitent and pious devotees, it will readily be imagined that the forms of admission and of pardon, such as that which is now presented to our notice, were kept ready prepared, just as marriage licenses or other kindred documents are in our own day. This is the case with all that I have seen or read any account of, and proofs of this characteristic will be observed in the example before us. It is engrossed by a skilful scribe upon a piece of parchment measuring 12 in. by 5½ in., and occupies a little more than thirteen long lines. A capital letter W, illuminated in gold and colours, is prefixed, extending to the depth of three lines: this can scarcely be called an initial, for the word to which it is prefixed is *Universis*; but the W would intimate at first sight, even to the unlearned, that this document was issued from Walsoken.

The exordium is in red ink, and so are the names of the popes in the two places where they occur. The names of the purchasers, *Joh'em Smeth' et Isabelam co'sortem suam*, are inserted, perhaps by the Chaplain or Warden of the hospital, in penmanship somewhat inferior to that of the professional scrivener. The seal of the hospital was suspended by a label of parchment drawn through slits in the folded lower margin, as in an ordinary secular charter, but it is now lost. A form of absolution is written on the back of the document in two and a half long lines, in terms addressed to a single individual.

It appears to have been customary to write such a form of absolution or pardon by way of indorsement upon documents of this character. And that document also resembles the present in another respect—it was drawn for an individual. The form of absolution says *te absolvat*, but the blank in the

charter itself is filled in with a plurality of recipients : *Thom's Wheler capellano* [sic] & *parentes*, in ink of a different colour.

The indulgence of the Castle of St. Peter emanated from the head quarters of all this system of remission of sins at Rome. It is said to have been set on foot by Pope Alexander V., who reigned only for less than a twelvemonth in 1409-10, and it offered plenary remission to all such who, according to their abilities, should contribute to the defence of the faith, the fortification and safe keeping of the Castle of St. Peter, and the confusion of the enemies of the afore-said faith. There is a second example, granted by the same Sir John Seyville and dated in 1412, translated in Sir Peter Leycester's *History of Cheshire*, p. 376.

These were the pardons which were often carried about by travelling hawkers called Pardoners, like him of whom Chaucer tells us—

“ His wallet lay beforne him in his lappe,
Bretful of Pardon come from Rome al hote.”

Whether the pardons of Walsoken were in like manner hawked about the country we have no proof or presumptive evidence; but from the number of documents resembling the present, which by some combination of accidents have been preserved to modern times, one may imagine that they were industriously distributed, and were held in considerable estimation. Including this example, I have traced as many as five charters of the Indulgence of Walsoken, ranging from the year 1452 to 1481.

1. The earliest is that which is now before us; but the date of this is more than sixty years later than the time when the hospital is said to have first acquired its privilege from Pope Urban V.

2. The next was granted in 1468, by Thomas Jackson, then chaplain and warden of the hospital, to Maurice ap

Jenkin and Margaret his wife—the name written *Morrys ap Jancen*. This was in the possession of Bishop Tanner when he wrote his *Notitia Monastica* in 1744, and is probably still preserved, but where I have not ascertained.

3. Another, granted by the same Thomas Jackson in 1472, was noticed by Dr. Whitaker among the Townley MSS.³ It was granted to Henry Nowell and Joan his wife; which Henry Nowell was of Little Mearley in the parish of Whalley in Lancashire, and survived until the 8th Henry VIII. (1516.)

4. Blomefield mentions another, granted in 1476, in favour of John Berners, Esquire, who was the second son of Thomas Berners, Esquire, second son of Sir John Berners, Lord Berners.

5. The last of which I have found a notice was conferred, in 1481, on more obscure persons, Thomas Hutton and . . . Dekkys, and this is printed, nearly entire, in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.

These documents furnish the names of four Wardens of Walsoken Hospital: Robert Rymie in 1452, Thomas Jackson in 1468 and 1472, . . . Hewett in 1476, and Eborard in 1481.⁴ A fifth, named Thomas Honyter, appears in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1539.

Blomefield describes the seal of the fraternity, which was attached to the charter dated in 1481, in the following

³ Whitaker's *History of Whalley*, first and second editions, third edit. 1818, p. 292; fourth edit. 1874, vol. ii.

⁴ "In 1461 Eborardus was custos, as he stiles himself, of the chapel and hospital of the Holy Trinity of Walsoken."—Blomefield, iv. 729. But the date is a misprint for 1481, as shown by the document which follows. Blomefield also states (p. 728) that in a window of the parish church of Walsoken was anciently this coat: Gules, a fess undée between 3 mullets argent—*Everard*. This may possibly have been commemorative of the chaplain. Blomefield at p. 339 of the same volume notices the same coat in the church of North Repps, but differently blazoned, as, Everard, gules, a fess nebuly between 3 estoils or.

terms: "The seal is oblong, having under an arch the effigies or representation of God the Father, supporting our Saviour on the cross, as was frequently and profanely used in the Church of Rome; below that, the custos at prayers, with a legend: *Sigill confrat et consoror hospitalis sancti Trinit. de Walsoken.*"

But the matrix of another seal of this hospital is still in existence, and is in the possession of Mr. Cocks, late of Hatfield Broad oak, in Essex. An impression was at that time exhibited by the late Mr. Charles Spence to the Archæological Institute, and is described in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvii. pp. 69, 76. Its device is a representation of the Holy Trinity under a canopy of tabernacle work; and on a shield below, instead of a figure of the warden, is a shield charged with the chalice and holy wafer.⁵ This



device is that which was more usually the ensign of guilds of Corpus Christi, of which that of the Corpus Christi Guild at York, lately published by the Surtees Society, furnishes an example. The legend is: *Sigillū hospitāl sante trinitat⁹ de Walsoky.*

⁵ Misdescribed as a paten in the *Archæological Journal*.

I have already stated that the account of Walsoken Hospital given by Blomefield is composed almost entirely from what he gathered from the three charters of fraternity which came under his notice. The other items of information which he has recorded are these: that on the 4th March, 1487, John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, granted forty days' indulgence to all who contributed to the support of this hospital; and that in 1512 Thomas Martynson, a priest attached to it, desired in his will to be buried in the chapel, or the chapel-yard, as the master might determine.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 29th Henry VIII., the Chantry of the Guild of the Holy Trinity of Walsoken is very briefly noticed. Without specifying items, it returns the clear yearly value of the foundation as Cvj*s.* viij*d.*, with the name of Thomas Honyter as chaplain.⁶ After its dissolution, King Edward VI., on the 21st August in his sixth year,⁷ granted it to Mary Duchess of Richmond and Somerset, with all the messuages, lands, &c., belonging to it in Walsoken, West Walton, Wisbeche, Leverington, Elme, and Emnyth, to be held by knight's service, and *in capite* of the king.

⁶ *Valor Eccles.* edit. 1817, iii. 398.

⁷ I have been favoured by Mr. John L'Estrange with the following abstract of this grant from the original remaining among documents relating to the manor of Congham. By letters patent, tested at Ely 21st August, 6th Edward VI., [it must not be supposed that the king himself was there, but merely the great seal, in the custody of Bishop Goderych then Chancellor] the grant of Henry VIII. was recited dated 26th Sept. a.r. 37, conveying to Ralph Stannow for life "totam capellam sive messuagium nuper fraternitatis sive gilde capellæ sanctæ Trinitatis juxta fossatum vocatum *le Strathedyke* in Walsoken in com. Norf. cum pertin., &c., in Walsoken, West Walton, Wisbyche, Leverington, Emnyth, et Elme." In consideration of the sum of £330 paid by Edmund Pelham for Mary Duchess of Richmond and Somerset, Countess of Nottingham, King Edward grants to the said Duchess the reversion of the said Trinity Chapel, &c., together with the Rectory of Naseby, formerly belonging to Combe Abbey. This grant remains among the title deeds of Mr. Elwes of Congham.

Some further particulars of the subsequent descent of its lands are given by Blomefield.

It is remarkable that there was also at Walsoken another small religious establishment, of the nature of a hermitage, mentioned in the 2nd of Henry V., and probably identical with the Chapel of St. Roche, named in the will of the priest Martynson in 1512, by his making a bequest to the light of St. Anne which was there burning.

Whilst the Rev. Mr. Davies was recently Rector of Walsoken, he was not able to recover any traditional particulars of its Hospital, which is now totally forgotten by the surrounding population, and its chapel and buildings have entirely disappeared. But the Pardon or Indulgence granted to John Smith and his wife, which is now before us, had been safely preserved at or near the place for more than four centuries. Mr. Davies bought it from a corn-porter at Wisbeach, named Oldham, whose account was, that it had been a kind of heirloom in his family, and that there was a tradition among them that it had been handed down, through each successive generation, from the parties whose incorporation it records. As Oldham was a respectable man in his class, and of good repute, there is no reason to doubt the truth of his statement.

None of these documents specify the money payment or other charitable benefaction in respect of which they were granted ; but some such consideration there always was, for it was remarked towards the close of the fourteenth century that "Abbots, monks, and other religious men that have possession, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritual suffrages, unless he bestow somewhat upon them, or promise them somewhat." This observation was made by Walter Burte, a layman of the diocese of Hereford, in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, in the year 1391. The consideration varied according to the devotion and the means of the recipients. This particular

is abundantly illustrated by the passages from the Register of the Guild of the Holy Cross at Stratford upon Avon, engraved in facsimile by Thomas Fisher, F.S.A., and published together with that artist's copies of the wall-paintings in the chapel at Stratford, to which work the descriptive letter-press was supplied by myself in the year 1838.

Of this guild John Mayelle, senior, had been a brother before the register that has been preserved was made in 1407; and in his time he provided for the chapel of the guild diverse ornaments, as all the lead on its roof, a table of alabaster for the high altar, and had paid for the confirmation of the bull of privileges granted by the pope, as well as other necessary matters; wherefore *Orate pro animabus dicti Johannis et Agnetis uxoris ejus*.

John Mayell, barker, who was probably his son, and Alice his wife, on being received into the fraternity of the same guild paid a fine of 40s. and 20d.; and the like was paid by several other townsmen and their wives. In 1407 Thomas Schepard, chaplain, was received into the fraternity of the guild, and made his fine to stay as chaplain of the same guild for his whole life, by paying £6. 13s. 4d. (Plate 12), thus purchasing his preferment.

In 1413 Henry Brouman was received into the same fraternity upon a fine of 20s., one-third of which was remitted by the master and aldermen of the guild upon the said Henry engaging to keep all the goods and chattels of the guild that were in the church, at the altar³ of the Holy Cross, the blessed Mary, and St. John, during his life as long as able to work.

³ Not "three altars," as in 1838 I understood it, following Mr. Fisher in *Gentleman's Magazine* p . . . It was evidently the special altar belonging to the guild, in which the Saviour on the cross (their peculiar emblem) stood as usual between figures of the Virgin and St. John. It was in the north aisle of the parish church at Stratford, previously to the guild

In 1414 John Overton, cook, of Warwick, and his wife, were admitted on condition of his being cook yearly at the common feast of the guild during his life, taking nothing of the guild but his hood, and his expenses in coming from Warwick to Stratford for the guild's service.

Again, in 1416, John Prynce, cook, of Warwick, master cook of the household of Richard Earl of Warwick, and Joan his wife, were received, giving nothing for fine but that he should always be ready to contribute his counsel and assistance at the common feast, receiving only a hood when he came.

In 1415 Thomas Barbour, on his admission, agrees to renew all the lights before the altar of the Holy Cross, and before the image of St. Mary in the chapel of the blessed Mary, in the church of Stratford, yearly once in the year,⁹ for a term of ten years, the master and proctors of the guild finding wax and wykeyary (wickery, materials for the wicks of the tapers.) A like agreement was made with John Barbour in 1429.

In 1417 John Smytth, alias Colyere, and Agnes his wife, were admitted, and for their fine agreed to make a horologe in the Drapery Chamber, and to remove the klokke (or bell of the horiloge) so that it might have its couræ (or swing) within that chamber, together with a dirole next the street with a painted hand and all its letters gilt; and to keep the said klokke and dirole, without any wages, for four years after they were perfectly finished.

subsequently erecting their chapel in the centre of the town, which was commenced in 1460, and which is still standing and used for divine service. Fisher seems to have fallen into the misapprehension that there were originally three guilds as well as three altars above named "afterwards incorporated into one."—See Toulmin Smith's *English Guilds*, p. 219.

⁹ Gigantic candles were made which, being lighted only for a short time during mass, lasted the whole year round. See the expenses of making the great light at Yeovil in 1467, which required four pounds of wax and twelve pounds of rosin, in *Collectanea Topog. et Geneal.*, iii. 136.

In 1426 John Storge gave for his admittance four cart-loads of plaster of Parys, to be carted by the guild; and agreed to work for six days at his own cost, the master of the guild finding him food.

Other artificers—masons, carpenters, and glaziers—were admitted without payment, in return for their work done in the new chapel of the guild, which is still standing at Stratford.

Henry Aldebury, of Bynton, made fine for himself and wife, and the souls of several deceased members of his family, in twenty rams, worth in all 30s.; and John Uske, the warner (that is, the warren-keeper) of Warwick, agreed to furnish eight couple of rabbits yearly, to be delivered at the common feast. Robert Dudley gave two ewes with lambs. Philip Scharpe, of Henley, agreed to give a boar annually, and receive the hood of the guild.

In 1427 William Goddys, a weaver coming from the distant city of Salisbury, was received into the guild of Stratford upon Avon, together with Alice his wife, upon his agreeing to be a proctor, or purveyor, in procuring striped cloth, probably for the hoods of the guild, and also to provide a new banner painted with an image by the next feast day.

In 1429 Eminencia Chebnore, of Pobworth, and the soul of Rose her parent, were received into the fraternity of the guild, making fine by one load, containing seven bushels, of wheat, and one brass pot worth 13s. 4d., and one basin and ewer.

The servants of great men were received with more than usual favour. John Verney, caterer of the Earl of Warwick, was excused from his fine; and Richard Cussen, an esquire of the same earl, made fine by 13s. 4d.

In 1438, when Joan Praty, mother of Richard Praty, Bishop of Chichester, was received into the fraternity, her fine was respited until the bishop's coming, he having been some years before warden of the college at Stratford.

But persons of still higher rank were members of the Guild of Stratford upon Avon. At the anniversary feast of 1441 were present Sir Ralph Nevile the Baron of Ounsley, Sir Thomas Burdet, John Hubaude, esquire, and John Hugford, esquire. In 1453 were admitted Walter Bekenysfeld the Abbat of Keynsham, and John Galys the Abbat of Tewkesbury. At a later period, in 1477, the King's brother, George Duke of Clarence, and his wife Isabella, the heiress of the Nevilles, with Edward Earl of Warwick their son, and Margaret their daughter (afterwards Countess of Salisbury), were received into the fraternity, and made their fine by five marks.

In 1479 were admitted Robert Pate, Prior of Worcester; Sir Thomas Lytelton, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, the celebrated author of the *Tenures*; Thomas Wood, Prior of Stodeley in Oxfordshire, and Robert Woode, Canon of the same house, probably his brother. It is remarkable that the higher members of the monastic orders should, for some reason, have so frequently condescended to join these fraternities; for we find further, at Stratford, in 1518, Clement Lychefyld, Abbat of Evesham, and William Grafton, Prior of Alcester; in 1529 Robert Kynge, Abbat of Bruerne; in 1523, Thomas Skeventon, Bishop of Bangor; in 1526, William Moore, Prior of Worcester, and shortly after William Taylor, Abbat of Hayles, and John Seeley, Abbat of Bordeley.

I trust that I may be excused in detailing these particulars, although they have been already published, and that by myself in a book now five and thirty years old,¹ but

¹ "Ancient, Allegorical, Historical, and Legendary Paintings, in Fresco, discovered in the Summer of 1804, on the walls of the Chapel of the Trinity, belonging to the Gilde of the Holy Cross at Stratford upon Avon, in Warwickshire, from drawings made at the time of their discovery, by Thomas Fisher, F.S.A. Also, a View and Plan of the Chapel, a View of New Place, the Residence of William Shakspeare, Facsimiles of various Grants

that book is a folio which has had a very limited circulation, and probably, like other folios, has had very few readers. Nor were they noticed by the late Mr. Toulmin Smith, in his unfinished work on *English Gilds*.

and Indulgences to the Gilde, with representations of an hundred and fifty Seals appended to them; facsimile extracts from the Register of the Gilde, the Rolls of Accounts, &c., described by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A." 1838. Folio.

Other extracts from this Gild Register were communicated by Mr. Fisher, in a translated form, to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1835, pp. 375—380; and these, with more from Mr. Fisher's MSS., are reprinted by Mr. Halliwell in his book above specified; but their accuracy must not be relied upon, as will be perceived on comparison of some of them with the original entries occurring in Fisher's engraved plates, see particularly fol. 14 (about the horologe), and the two following:—

In 1414 Richard Gylberd, junior, of Lodyngton, was received into the fraternity of the gild, making his fine by twenty shillings, to be paid, at his entrance 6s. 8d., at the next common feast of the guild 6s. 8d., and a third 6s. 8d. within the year then next ensuing; and when he should take a wife, then he was to pay for her fine 13s. 4d. within a year next following, fol. 9. (This is given by Fisher: "Richard Gylberd, jun., of Lodyngton, and for any woman he may introduce as his wife, makes a fine of 20d.")

In 1426 Robert Dudley, a servant of Henry Aldebury of Bynton, and for the souls of Walter Dudley and Amicia his parents, made his fine by a couple of ewes with lambs worth 15s., and besides by 13s. 4d. and 2s. 6d. for the light (fol. 24.) In Fisher's translation of this entry are these four errors: *Richard* for Robert, *tenant* for servant, *the ancestors* for Amicia, and 14s. for 15s. This entry is remarkable as showing that there were Dudleys in humble life in Warwickshire early in the fifteenth century.

The Register of the Stratford Guild is altogether so valuable that it may probably at some future time be considered worth publication, which it equally deserves with that of the Corpus Christi Gild at York.

"English Gilds. The Original Ordinances of more than one hundred Early English Gilds, &c., &c., edited, with Notes, by the late Toulmin Smith, Esq., Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (Copenhagen). With an Introduction and Glossary, &c., by his daughter, Lucy Toulmin Smith. And a preliminary Essay in five parts, On the History and Development of Gilds, by Lujo Brentano, Doctor Juris utriusque et Philosophiæ. London, printed for the Early English Text Society, 1870." 8vo.

Mr. Toulmin Smith, at p. 220, mentions my name, and quotes my preface to the documents on the Stratford on Avon Guild, but so far as appears, he

I should add, however, that besides the fine on admission, an annual contribution was also expected from each member. This at Stratford upon Avon was fourpence to be paid quarterly, a penny at each of the four terms, another penny being imposed as a penalty for non-payment. In the Corpus Christi Guild at York there were two annual payments of twopence, one for the feast (solatium), the other for the lights. At Boston the payments were higher, the entrance money 6s. 8d., the annual contribution 12d., which went to the finding of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, to the lights, and to a grammar school.

This money was expended in the purchase of wax for the candles and tapers constantly in use, and it therefore went by the name of "light silver."²

Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood has shewn, in his work on *English Etymology*, that the original meaning of a *Gilde* was a feast, or festive company, in the Danish or Low Dutch; and that it has been a mistake to derive the term from the German *geld*, payment.³

Of a large number of these fraternities the main objects, as at Stratford, appear to have been these two, the annual feast, and the perpetual support of the wax lights used at their altar during mass and at the obsequies of any deceased member. In one instance, at Lubeck,⁴ a guild was established

had not read my explanations of the engraved facsimiles. He prints (for the first time) the original Ordinances of this Guild, as certified by the Wardens in 12th Edward III. (1389); and refers to later Ordinances, of the year 1441, which were first printed by Mr. Fisher in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Feb., 1835, and reprinted by Mr. Halliwell in his "Descriptive Calendar of the Ancient MSS. and Records in possession of the Corporation of Stratford upon Avon. 1863." Folio (seventy-five copies). These were not inserted in the folio volume of 1838, because Mr. H. Bohn, the publisher, requested brevity, and little more than an explanation of the engravings.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1835, iv. 167.

³ *English Etymology*, i. 191; and note by F. J. Furnivall in *English Guilds*, p. 61.

⁴ Wilde, p. 347; Toulmin Smith, p. 83.

originally and principally for the maintenance of a wax light. But most of these associations proposed to themselves one principal and special object, at the same time that other objects were pursued in attendance upon it; as with the Corpus Christi Gild at York the grand object was to add all possible magnificence to the annual procession upon Corpus Christi day, with its concomitant drama of the Scripture history which was so popular in that city, as in many others, as Chester and Coventry. Some guilds were for the special aid of pilgrims, furnishing them for their journey, and receiving them on their return. Many were for mutual assistance in case of fire, shipwreck, theft, or sickness, as in a modern benefit society; and all, it is believed, paid regard to funerals and the religious services that belonged to them.

It has been a question whether guilds of this class should be termed religious guilds, which is the designation given them by Madox in his *Firmus Burgi*, or Social Gilds, which with some show of reason was suggested by Mr. Toulmin Smith. Dr. Brentano remarks (p. 58), "I fully agree with Mr. Toulmin Smith that the objects of these Gilds were social ones. But the exercise of these very social duties, to which Gild brethren were bound by the Gild statutes—mutual assistance, the aid of the poor, of the helpless, the sick, of strangers, pilgrims, and prisoners, the burial of the dead, and even the keeping of schools and schoolmasters—was considered in the time when these Gilds existed as an exercise of religion, *obsequium religionis* as Hincmar calls it." It is further remarkable that, though these fraternities were prevalent all over Europe, Dr. Brentano (p. 57) gives his opinion most emphatically that he considers England to have been the birthplace of guilds, so that their earliest history is to be traced for several centuries before the Norman Conquest. As to their numbers, Mr. Toulmin Smith remarks (p. 82) that there were many in every town.

Thus there were twelve in Norwich, as many in King's Lynn, in Bishop's Lynn nine; while abroad, Gallienus counts even eighty in Cologne, Melle about seventy at Lubeck, and Staphorst more than a hundred at Hamburg. In Norfolk they seem to have been especially numerous. Mr. Richard Taylor, in his *Monasticon* for that county, gives a list amounting to nine hundred and nine. Of these five are assigned to Walsoken, named respectively after the Assumption of our Lady, Saint Thomas the Martyr, the Nativity of our Lord, Saint John, and the Holy Trinity.

Dr. Brentano states that "The Reformation shook the whole system of Gilds to its foundation, and this was especially the case with the Religious Gilds of the laity The Gilds were therefore abolished in all Protestant countries." (p. 90.)

Under the Act for the dissolution of Colleges and Chantries (37 Henry VIII., c. 4) the possessions of certain fraternities, brotherhoods, and guilds were included; and that measure was completed by the Act of 1 Edward VI., c. 14. By these two Acts all the possessions of guilds became vested in the Crown, except such as crept out by being trading guilds. This saved the corporate companies of the city of London, though they were forced to relinquish, in most cases redeeming and repurchasing, such estates as they held in trust for obits or other "superstitious uses."

Mr. Richard Taylor remarks that "The revenues of the Gilds, which certainly appear to have been most usefully appropriated in supporting the poorer brethren, were suddenly withdrawn; and the alienation of so many small but useful endowments, in addition to the deprivation of other charitable sources, had an injurious effect, for a time at least, upon the class of men that composed those bodies. A few of these small endowments were transferred to the respective parishes, and now form the principal portion of the town

lands. The guildhalls sometimes became the parish poor-houses. At Tibenham in Norfolk is an instance of this.”⁴

By the former Act, of 37 Henry VIII., section 12, the king was empowered to send out commissioners to survey all lay corporations, guilds, fraternities, companies, and fellowships of mysteries or crafts incorporate, and to seize such as they thought proper, returning certificates of their lands, &c., into the King’s Court of the Augmentation and Revenues of his Crown. Many of these certificates are still preserved in Her Majesty’s Public Record Office, and a few of the more curious of them have been edited by Mr. Toulmin Smith. I have been to the office in the hope I might discover one relating to the Guild of the Holy Trinity of Walsoken. I found, however, that notwithstanding the vast number of guilds in the diocese of Norwich of which Mr. Richard Taylor has found the names, the certificates for that county, according to the calendar in the office, are now comparatively few.

So that, after all, I am unable to say for what specific object the Guild of the Holy Trinity at Walsoken was founded. Unless further information should unexpectedly arise hereafter, we must be content to know that it was famous, as Blomefield says, because it afforded to its benefactors a plenary remission of their sins.

I ought not, I think, to terminate these remarks without noticing that the long-neglected subject of guilds has been recently illustrated by the publication of several important materials in addition to those so ably edited by Mr. Toulmin Smith.

In the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society* for 1871, vol. iv. pp. 1—59, have appeared the ordinances of some secular guilds in London, ranging from 1354 to 1496, discovered among the records of the

⁴ *Index Monasticus*, p. 17.

Commissary of London by J. Robert Daniel Tyssen, Esq., one of our members, and edited by another, Henry Charles Coote, Esq. They belong to the Glovers, the Blacksmiths, the Shearmen, the Water-bearers, and to three guilds of Germans residing and trading in London.

One of the latest publications of the Surtees Society is the register of the great Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York, from the year 1409 to 1546 inclusive, containing the names of upwards of 14,850 persons who joined that fraternity during its comparatively short existence of not quite a century and a half, and among them the names of many individuals of the highest rank, both civil and ecclesiastical.

A small register of a Fraternity of the Assumption, at Hythe in Kent, dating from 1466 to 1522, has also been recently edited by Mr. H. B. Mackeson

And, lastly, I may be allowed to allude to a series of very curious documents relating to the Guild of the Name of Jesus, in the Crypt under St. Paul's Cathedral, to which I have already made some reference. These are included in a volume of the Statutes of St. Paul's Cathedral, which has been printed at the expense of the Dean and Chapter, and most carefully edited by our fellow, the Rev. William Sparrow Simpson, D.D., but is not as yet made public.

My dear

I shall want 12 copies
of *Staphylococcus* in 4th I want
or ought to have seen
Holt & also my *Staphylococcus*
but will speak to you about, them
when I next see you

Yours truly
H. A. H. C.



$$\begin{array}{r} 4 \\ 14 \\ \hline 28 \\ 18 \\ \hline 38 \end{array}$$

STIFFKEY:

A Sketch.

BY MRS. HERBERT JONES.

IN a sea-side Norfolk village, which afterwards became connected with a name celebrated in the annals of English history, there stood, side by side for centuries, two churches, one of which fell apparently into disuse about the year 1559, when the church of St. Mary, Stiffkey, alone remained. That of St. John Baptist, rescued from oblivion by the legend engraved on a silver chalice still in use,—“Sainte John and Mary, 1567,”—has left behind a suggestion only of the lives of the contemporary priests who ministered there, two of whom, in the fifteenth century, dwelt more than fifty years in the occupation of the two benefices, living a remote country life in their obscure locality, far from the strife of “the madding crowd,” which at that period of frequent civil war kindled into historic illustration so many of the nooks and corners of England.

A century later, and not long after the disappearance of the church of St. John, Stiffkey became the property of Sir Nicholas Bacon, the Lord Keeper of Queen Elizabeth’s time, the second who had acquired pre-eminence in that well-known family, whose occasional members, rising above the level of its ordinary history, have, from time to time,

benefited, astonished, or charmed mankind by their endowments.¹

The estate was purchased by the Lord Keeper in 1571, of the families of Baynard and Andrewes, to whom it had belonged for a short time,² but this possession, so distant, in those days of tedious travelling, from the scenes of his public life, was perhaps unvisited by him, and was relinquished apparently, after a few years, to the son for whose provision the acquisition had been made.

The will of Sir Nicholas Bacon, a contemporary copy of which is preserved, is dated September, 1577, and consists chiefly of recitals of the settlements which he had previously made, and which he thereby confirms. In that portion of the will which relates to Stiffkey, he confirms certain indentures that had been made at the dates—"February 10, thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth;" "May 2, fourteenth of Queen Elizabeth;" and "February 17, sixteenth of Queen Elizabeth;"—but whilst there is no mention of any existing house at Stiffkey, the following sentence occurs in a part of the will dated 23rd of December, 1578: "I give to Nathaniel my sonne towards the buildinge of

¹ Bacon is a Norman name, and the family of Baconsthorpe is the same as that of Bacon. "The English family of Bacon appears to have descended from Grimbald, said to be a kinsman of the Earl Warren, and who came to England with him at the Conquest. It is likely that Grimbald held some manor in Normandy called Bacon, from whence the name of the family. The illustrious Roger Bacon can hardly have been of this family; but John de Baconsthorpe, the celebrated Carmelite Friar, of whom Fuller makes mention in his *Worthies*, was certainly son of Sir Thomas Bacon, of Baconsthorpe. The arms of this family varied much; they bore, Gules, on a chief argent two mullets sable, which are borne by the present family; and, Gules, three boars' passant or."—*Record of the House of Gournay*, page 338. It has occasionally, however, been assumed that Roger Bacon was of this family, and Hallam, in his *Middle Ages*, points out a remarkable resemblance between certain of his characteristics and those of his "greater namesake."—See *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. page 539.

² Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 8vo. edition, vol. ix. pages 250 and 252.

his house at Stiffkey twoo hundred pounds. And besides all my leases in Stiffkey, and my stocke of sheepe, goinge uppon them."³

The evidence of an inscription upon a silver cup, still preserved, "left by Sir Nicholas Bacon to his house at Stewkey, 1574," points, however, to the existence of a previous house, which is also rendered probable by the earlier possession of Stiffkey by families of importance, and by the appearance of the building itself, which on examination suggests the idea that some modifications have passed over it, and that material of different dates has been incorporated in it. It seems likely that a house of some sort was purchased or begun by the Lord Keeper himself, but that it was enlarged, remodelled, and adapted to a new and much later design, by his successor.

The period of ownership, although short—only eight years—during which Stiffkey was associated with the celebrated lawyer, whose "quick wit, singular prudence, supreme eloquence, and steadfast memory,"⁴ secured to him the confidence of the Queen and of his contemporaries, has given to this place a touch of distinction and historical interest which will always cling to it; the image of the Lord Keeper, with his characteristics of wisdom, "moderation," and firmness, gilded by the sparkle of humour, and by the still brighter embellishment of parental fidelity, presents itself as the moving spirit, if not the immediate cause, which filled the atmosphere of Stiffkey, not only palpably and materially, where—

"Casual bricks in airy climb
Encountered casual cow-hair, casual lime;
And rafters, borne through wondering clouds elate,
Kissed in their slope blue elemental slate"—

³ Blomefield asserts (vol. ix. page 252, 8vo. edition) that Sir Nicholas Bacon gave the Stiffkey estate to his son Nathaniel.

⁴ Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth* (Darcie's Translation, 1625, p. 396.)

but also with that memory of himself, which is its choicest and most abiding possession.

The individual of the race to whom, after Sir Nicholas Bacon, Stiffkey belonged, displays no especially striking qualities, but seems to have desired,—whether for the sake of “plain life and lettered peace,” or in order to “love the more his own gray towers,”—a quiet country abode; for he it was, the second son of the Lord Keeper, and elder brother of Francis Lord Bacon, who completed in 1604 the beautiful house still to be seen at Stiffkey, which, with its gateway carved with arms, and the six circular towers that define its plan, rose to embellish and dignify the little village.

The house, three sides of a square, the fourth side enclosed by a gateway and walls, was spacious and picturesque; at each of the four outer corners a round tower, with the same at the two inner corners facing the gateway; the building of red brick, with brick mullioned windows; the gateway with stone quoins, surmounted by a shield, inscription and date carved in stone. This little piece of heraldry,—a fragment of that useful art, which, developing from the early “standard” of the Israelitish tribes, into the individual and hereditary coat of arms assumed to proclaim identity, has continued since to tell tales and betray facts,—stamps the house as the work of the Bacons, the double star still glimmering down from under the familiar crest, and based by the coat of arms which Sir Nicholas Bacon, in common with his sons, habitually quartered. It is in this instance impaled with that of Hopton, the family into which Sir Nathaniel Bacon married, and whose arms, with his own, appear upon his monument in the church hard by.

The principal front of the building looks south, on to a rising ground some three hundred yards distant, from whose summit the russet walls and towers opposite still show stately in the sunshine, backed, first, by the church with

its large shining nave windows, standing on higher ground, but close above the house, and beyond, by the long gray line of the sea. In front and beneath, green meadows, and a clear and broad stream, willow-shadowed and fringed with flowers. It runs between the house and the wooded hill, which, when nearest the stream, sinks into a parallel belt of copse, as though in attendance on the rivulet in its progress to the sea.

This stream, which was probably in those days of much larger dimensions, rises some fifteen miles off in a southeasterly direction, the principal branch near Fulmodeston, and winding along by Thursford, Great Snoring, Thorpland, East Barsham, Houghton-in-the-Dale, and Walsingham, eventually reaches the sea slightly east of Stiffkey, traversing, after its course through that village, where the inequality of the ground, and some alternation of slope, dale, and wood, give a touch of beauty to the landscape—a tract of salt marshes, whose “level waste and rounding gray,” are only broken by the neighbouring harbour of Blakeney, and its high church tower and lantern turret, the welcome sea mark of that monotonous coast.

All the above localities, by which the Stiffkey stream flows, between its rise and the point where it delivers its “tribute wave,” are spots of interest:—Thursford, where it steals through the woods that skirt the graceful Tudor house to which it gives the name; East Barsham, whose dark red battlements and chimneys decked with ornament are almost reflected in its current; Great Snoring, preserving a remembrance of the Sheltons in an ancient manor-house; Thorpland, where the Calthorpes occupied their sheltered, sunny, large-windowed abode; the little chapel of Houghton-in-the-Dale, the west front still fretted with delicate and elaborate tracery; the priory of Walsingham, with its famous shrine, rich in historical associations,

and, bound to which the Royal Pilgrim,⁶ as he neared his destination, must have trodden the margin of these friendly waters on "his weary way;" the Danish camp at Warham; and, lastly, the hall at Stiffkey, placed, as were perhaps the other dwellings on its banks, with some reference to the convenient neighbourhood of the running stream.

Sir Nathaniel Bacon, if he, as appears most probable, was the builder of the house, was certainly happy in the site selected: sunshine and sea air warmed and freshened his abode, whilst the close vicinity of the church, and the ground behind it, secured a shelter from the too-keen breezes of the adjacent coast. Erected at the last moment of what is called the Elizabethan manner, on the eve of that period when the return of Inigo Jones from Italy introduced a totally new style and arrangement into English domestic architecture, the interior, as far as the plan can still be traced, affords a good specimen of the departing ideal, and comprises a large suite of rooms,—some now remaining, but altered and divided; others in which the arrangement and characteristics are indicated by the deep indentations of the wooden joists and beams, and the stone door and window frames; and those in a further stage of ruin, which give only the faintest suggestion of their existence, grass and weeds having long taken the place of those fair chambers which looked out upon the view of stream and garden, hill and meadow, and which have fallen so soon and so unnecessarily into hopeless decay.

Exactly opposite the gate-house, at a distance of 83 feet, was the principal entrance door, in the centre of the south front, and opening into a large hall, about 65 feet by 23,

⁶ Sir Henry Spelman, in describing the shrine at Walsingham, says, "obtinuit fama celebris me adhuc puero, Regem Angliæ Henricum VIII. nudis pedibus a Bashamia ad præsentiam Virginis perrexiisse; conceptisq' votis, Monile peringentis pretii obtulisse."—Spelman's *Icenia*, (edit. 1723 p. 149, vol. ii.; also edit. 1698.)

the space adjoining the door being probably screened off, and containing a window, a door into the withdrawing-room on the left, and a low-arched cellar door. Beyond the screen, the spacious mullioned window on the right, with its square of sunshine, and the large fireplace in the north wall opposite, gave warmth and cheerfulness to the room; its further details consisting of a broad window at the garden end, a door into the eastern wing, a communication with the staircase tower, and the circular nook at the north-east corner. The east rooms, into which the hall opened, are so entirely ruined as to elude inquiry, the foundations of the walls, and a remnant of the south-east tower alone remaining; the tower in the angle, although much broken away, still shows traces of the winding stair within it.

On the west side of the hall there appear to have been two large square rooms, with mullioned windows of the same size and shape as the south one in the hall; one of these rooms communicates with the court through the corner tower, which contains, in perfect preservation, the staircase that led to the upper floors of that part of the house. Beyond these rooms are some which seem to have been used as offices; the first, judging from the form and size of its fireplace, was probably a kitchen, and opens into the court by a door bordered with stone mouldings; the further room is bounded on one side by a gabled projection, containing a staircase. Thus the three staircases with which this house was provided, were all placed without the actual walls, a result coinciding with the recommendation given by Lord Bacon in his *Essay on Building*, published towards the close of the century. "In the corners of the court, fair staircases, cast into turrets on the outside, and not within the rows of buildings themselves." Certain portions, indeed, of this elevation, bear much resemblance, although on a humble scale, to the ideal palace described by Francis Bacon in the *Essay* in question; the "house round

a court," the turrets, the staircases, the "fair and large cellar sunk underground," are all points of similarity which seem to hint at the possibility that in the completion of Sir Nathaniel Bacon's house his brother may have taken a share, supplied a suggestion, or inspired the faint image which these ruins present of the imaginary model of the philosopher.

The four turrets not containing staircases, were divided into a series of rooms forming a small circular addition to the apartment adjoining them on each floor. The house consisted of three stories, the rooms on the first floor of the west wing opening into a corridor lighted by windows towards the court; those looking south seem to have extended the whole width of the building, and were choice rooms, one especially, twenty-seven feet square, and ornamented with oak chimney-piece and panelling.

But the house itself would not have been complete without the fair garden which lay beside it, on a south slope, divided into three wide terraces. The upper terrace, still called "The Terrace Garden," overlooked by the hall window, a window not unlike that

"Oriel on the summer side

Vineclad, of Arthur's palace towards the stream,"

stretched its broad and sunny way along the lower edge of the churchyard, from which it was separated by a wall. Not far from the house a convenient door conducted the inhabitants to the south entrance of the church, a small archway in the nave wall exactly opposite, and which is perhaps not so much an original opening as one made to suit the needs of the manor-house; the principal entrance into the church, with its elegant porch, being on the north side, that in nearest proximity to the village.

The terrace, perfectly straight, and about two hundred

feet long, was picturesquely terminated by a large summer-house, from which a flight of steps descended to the stream, then near enough to be so reached, and, according to tradition, crossed by a ferry-boat moored beneath the bank. The summer-house, defined by the traces of its wooden roof, was built with three mullioned windows, now remaining, forming three sides of an octagon; one permitting a distant glimpse of the sea, whilst the other two must have looked upon the undulating lines of the low hills opposite; not as now, cultivated and planted, but veiled with the natural embroidery of the soil, tufts and threads of amber mosses, and the heavy network of the fragrant furze. Next to this terrace, a second, much broader—a swarded space; and on a lower level still, the kitchen garden, reaching down to the green meadows beneath.

It is much to be regretted that this interesting house, manifestly intended and specially fitted to form an abode ready to shelter generation after generation, and to descend unimpaired from father to son, should have become, from the circumstance of the want of an heir to inhabit it, and carry on the name, an appendage merely to a larger estate; this accident depriving it, not only of its dower of human interest, taking from it the light of life, the shadow of death, the doings and the fortunes of families, its natural and destined heritage,—but also of the common preservation due to its actual outward form and fabric, the proportion of ruin being so great that the larger part of the masonry, brickwork, and ornament which represented so much thought and labour, has, in the short space of 270 years, disappeared or crumbled into indefinable confusion.

Sir Nicholas Bacon had, besides the Stiffkey estate, other property in Norfolk, which he bequeathed to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; he provided, for the most part, estates for his sons, leaving Mildenhall, Redgrave, and Culford to the eldest, Nicholas; Stiffkey to Nathaniel, and Gorhambury

to Anthony, from whom it subsequently passed to Lord Verulam. The building of houses and laying out of gardens seems to have been a passion in the Bacon family: the well-known house at Gorhambury, in Hertfordshire, with its elaborate gardens and orchards, was built by the Lord Keeper in 1568; the hall at Culford, near Bury St. Edmund's, was the work of his son Nicholas in 1591; Sir Nathaniel in 1604 completed that at Stiffkey; whilst the favourite occupation was elucidated and gathered into maxims in two exquisite essays, by the youngest and "brightest" of the sons, whose "castles in the air" will prove apparently less evanescent than the more solid elevations of the rest of his family.

The inheritor of Stiffkey was born in 1546, and was twenty-five years old at the time of the purchase of the estate. He and two brothers, Nicholas and Edward, were the sons of Sir Nicholas Bacon's first wife, Jane Fernley; whilst the mother of his celebrated younger brother, born fifteen years later than himself, was Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and sister of Lady Burleigh; both ladies distinguished for their learning and attainments.

Nathaniel Bacon was Sheriff of Norfolk in 1599,⁷ and was knighted at Whitehall in 1604. He is frequently mistaken for his nephew and namesake, Sir Nathaniel Bacon, (the son of his elder brother, Sir Nicholas, the first baronet), who lived at Culford, in Suffolk, and who attained some eminence as a painter. An account of his pictures is given by Horace Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, where he falls into the error of supposing him to be the son of the Lord Keeper, and brother of Francis Bacon; giving him, as well as his uncle's identity, his monument in Stiffkey church, in addition to his own at Culford. The two monuments sufficiently attest the distinction between the

⁷ Fuller's *Worthies*, (edit. 1811, vol. ii. p. 151) "List of Norfolk Sheriffs."

uncle and nephew; that at Culford⁸ describes Sir Nathaniel the younger, as "well skilled in the history of plants and in delineating them with his pencil," and is accompanied by one to his wife, the widow of Sir William Cornwallis.⁹ According to the list of members of Corpus Christi College, given by Masters, which goes back to 1358, the painter took his degree at Cambridge in 1628, six years after the death of his uncle of Stiffkey.

The monument in Stiffkey church, placed there by Sir Nathaniel Bacon, the elder, seven years before he died, gives an account, in his own words, of his descent, the two wives whom he married, and his three daughters. It is as follows:—

"Deo viventium sacrum. Nathaniel Bacon Eques Auratus, Nicolai Bacon Domini Custodis Magni Sigilli Angliæ filius secundo genitus, hic in Christo cui vivus invigilavit obdormit, cum duabus charissimis uxoribus, Annâ filiâ Thomæ Gresham, Equitis Aurati, et Dorotheâ filiâ Arthuri Hopton, de Whitham, ordinis ejusdem; è quorum priore tres suscepit filias, Annam enuptam Joanni Tounsend de Rainham, Elizabetham Thomæ Knivett de Ashwell-Thorpe, et Winefredam Roberto Gaudy de Claxton, singulis ex Ordine Equestri. Ille mortalitatis memor, spe certâ resurgendi in Christo, hoc sibi et suis posuit, anno ætatis suæ LXIX, ano domini 1615. Qui obiit die anno Dñi"

The tomb, which is now on the south side of the chancel, is of black marble, representing a coffin, the inscription above on a slab of white marble decorated with six coats of arms in alabaster, whose gilding and colour partly remain. These are, Bacon quartering Quaplude, with a crescent in the centre, the same exactly as the coat of arms borne by

⁸ It is detailed by Gough, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* (published 1789) vol. ii. page 82.

⁹ These monuments are unfortunately now concealed by the modern arrangements of the church.

Sir Nathaniel Bacon's father, and placed over the entrance of the ante-chapel at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, when that addition was made by the Lord Keeper in 1578,¹ one of his gifts to the university, but which, unlike that bestowed upon the library,—a collection of rare books in Greek and Latin, still carefully preserved,²—has been swept away to give place to the execution of more modern ideas. This shield at the head of the monument in Stiffkey church found its position there no doubt in honour of Sir Nicholas Bacon, whose son, to complete his domestic history, placed by its side his own arms, impaled with those of his two wives: Gresham, Sable, a chevron ermine between three mullets argent; and Hopton, Argent, two bars, sable, on each three mullets or; and beneath, those of his three daughters and their husbands—the blue field and silver shells of Townshend; the tortoise on the grass of Gawdy; and the alternate light and shadow resting on the shield of the Knyvetts.

Strange to say, the space left to receive the date of Sir Nathaniel Bacon's death remains uninscribed still, and the parish register alone records the event in the following entry. "1622. Nov. 7. Nathaniel Bacon, knight, was buried."

Although the existence of the house and the eminence of the family have indelibly associated Stiffkey with the name of Bacon, its actual connection with that name lasted only fifty years, and ended with the death of Sir Nathaniel. The marriage of his daughters, all allied to well-known Norfolk families,—Townshend, Knyvett, and Gawdy,—had, as is shown above, taken place before his death, and it was to the elder, Anne, the wife of Sir John Townshend, Knight, that he bequeathed the house and property at Stiffkey.

¹ *Masters' History of Corpus Christi College*, p. 208, edit. 1753.

² From one of these books the bookplate engraved at the end of the article has been copied.

When Sir Nathaniel placed the inscription in the church in anticipation of his own death, and to preserve the remembrance, as connected with himself, of his three children, Lady Townshend had been a widow some years. Her husband's tragical end in 1603, from wounds received in a duel, left her with two children, the eldest a boy of eight years old. She survived her husband twenty-seven years, and seems to have been successful in the training of her son, whom she lived to see, according to the quaint description given by Fuller some years after,³ a "religious gentleman, expending his soul in piety and charity, and a lover of God, His service and servants." Besides the exercise of these higher qualities, he accomplished other worthy ends in life, and has left behind him certain finished undertakings which afford to the observer of to-day material and visible testimony to his memory.

Among the most interesting and stately of the old houses of Norfolk is that, which—standing slightly elevated above the surrounding park, flanked by large cedars, its grey walls overspread by time with a bloom of warmer colour—was designed by Inigo Jones in 1620; and was enriched a few years later by a collection of full-length portraits, of contemporary date, connected with a central figure of some historical interest, Sir Francis Vere, whose enterprises and successes in the days of Queen Elizabeth were commemorated by a series of likenesses of the soldiers who accompanied him in his expeditions to the Low Countries.

The early morning sun alone illuminates these portraits, which are placed, for the most part, in a room looking east. The three tall windows shed a somewhat demure light upon this gallery of knights, whose

"Bones are dust,
Whose good swords rust,
Whose souls are with the saints, we trust";

but when, towards the end of a summer's day, the opposite

³ Fuller's *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 152.

door communicating with the hall is thrown open, a beam of afternoon sunshine seems to penetrate into the distant room, startling into light the faces, and gilding with freshness the accoutrements, of the figures which thus keep guard in the long drawing-room at Raynham Hall.

The house is the work, and the pictures the acquisition, of Roger Townshend, the first Baronet of that ancient name, and the grandson, representative, and heir of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey. Anne, Lady Townshend, the last Bacon who possessed Stiffkey, died in 1630, and was buried at Raynham, and the estate, which thus passed 250 years ago into the hands of the Townshends has ever since remained in exclusive connection with that family. From time to time, as the Stiffkey house slowly declined in usefulness and importance, portions of its garniture were removed; a room lined with oak panelling,—arranged originally perhaps to carry out the opinion expressed by Lord Bacon, “music is better in rooms wainscotted than hanged,”—was dismantled to furnish the needs of another abode, where its small squares, delicate champfering, and rich cornice, contrast favorably with later wood-work of the same description. A cup, the material of which had once formed the Great Seal of England, was transferred to Raynham; the inscription on it tells its own story:—“A thyrde bowle made of the Greate Seale of Englande, and left by Syr Nycholas Bacon, Knygt, Lorde Keeper, as an heyrelome to his howse of Stewkey, 1574.” The cup is of silver-gilt, eleven inches in height, an elegantly shaped bowl on a pedestal; the lid with the motto, “*Mediocria firma*,” engraved upon it, and surmounted by the Bacon crest; the coat of arms of Sir Nicholas Bacon placed on one side of the bowl. The metal of which this cup was composed must have been that of the Great Seal of Philip and Mary, since no other great seal was broken up during the life of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

In the article on "English Seals" (by Mr. W. de G. Birch of the British Museum) in the *English Cyclopædia*,—where an interesting account is given of the custom of breaking with a hammer the seal of the previous reign on the accession of a sovereign, or as soon after that event as a new seal could be prepared,—a tabular synopsis is arranged of the Great Seals of English Sovereigns, from which it appears that the seal of Queen Mary, made in 1556, after her marriage, was the one in use at the time of her death; that Elizabeth's first seal was produced in 1559, and was used until 1585, when she adopted a second one, which remained until her death in 1603.⁴ On the death of Mary, Lord Chancellor Heath delivered the Great Seal to Elizabeth the day after her accession, November 18th, 1558, who, receiving it into her hand, ordered it to be placed in her private chamber until her appointment of a Lord Chancellor. She delivered it to Sir Nicholas Bacon on the 22nd of December, 1558, who used it until January 25th, 1559, when it was broken with the usual ceremonies, and the new seal of Elizabeth adopted.⁵ Sir Nicholas Bacon died in 1579, six years before this first seal of Queen Elizabeth, which was in use twenty-six years, was destroyed.

The date then of the seal, or rather seals, of which this cup is made—for a great seal was a double instrument, each half with its own handle, and engraved respectively with a design of the royal figure and arms—was 1556. Its associations are of rather a lurid character; a dim reflection of the blood and fire of Mary's reign tinges it; until the genial Lord Keeper, in the dawning light of happier times, to break the spell, changed it, by a stroke of his conjuring hammer, into the peaceful wine cup of succeeding days.

Lord Campbell, in his "Life of Sir Nicholas Bacon,"

⁴ *English Cyclopædia*. "Arts and Sciences" (1873) Supplement, p. 1890.

⁵ Close Roll, 1 Elizabeth, part xii. memb. 20.

gives an account of the breaking of this great seal, and in the Close Roll, 1 Elizabeth, details are given of this occurrence.⁶

⁶ The following extract from the original document has been furnished by the kindness of Sir T. Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Records.

Close Roll, 1 Elizabeth, part xii. memb. 20.

*De deliberatione
Magni Sigilli in
manus Regine.*

Memorandum quod die Veneris xviii. die Novembris anno primo dominæ Elizabethæ Reginae eadem domina Regina existens apud Hatfeld Regia in Comitatu Hertford' in domo ejusdem dominæ Reginae ibidem inter horas decimam et undecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei in camera præsentis, tunc et ibidem præsentibus Edwardo Comite Derbiæ, &c. ac aliis magnum sigillum Angliæ in custodia Reverendissimi in Christo patris Nicholai Archiepiscopi Eborum adtunc Cancellarius Angliæ existens in præsentia prædicta præfatæ dominæ Reginae per præfatum Reverendissimum patrem deliberatum erat ac eadem domina Regina magnum sigillum prædictum de manibus prædicti Reverendissimi patris accipiens Ambrosio Cave militi deliberabat ac præfatus Ambrosius Cave miles per mandatum ipsius dominæ Reginae magnum sigillum prædictum in privatam cameram præfatæ dominæ Reginae secum ferebat ibidem per præfatam dominam Reginam custodiendum quousque eadem domina Regina aliter duxerit deliberandum.

*De deliberatione ejusdem
Sigilli Nicholao Bacon
armigero.*

Et postea videlicet die Jovis xxii. die Decembris anno primo supradicto magnum sigillum prædictum in custodia præfatæ dominæ Reginae sic existens apud Somerset place extra barras novi Templi inter horas decimam et undecimam ante meridiem ejusdem diei præfata domina Regina existens in interiore camera privata ejusdem domus idem magnum sigillum e бага de velveto rubro ac alia бага de corio extractum, ac ibidem in manibus dictæ dominæ Reginae retentum, In nobilium ac Egregiorum virorum Willielmi Marchionis Wintoniæ Thesaurarii Angliæ Henrici Comitis Arrundell' domini Senescalli Hospicii dictæ dominæ Reginae Francisci Comitis Bedford' Willielmi Comitis Pembroch' Edwardi domini Clynton magni Admiralli Angliæ Willielmi domini Howard de Effingham Camerarii Hospicii sui Willielmi Cicell militis primarii Secretarii sui Ambrosii Cave militis Nicholai Bacon Armigeri Thomæ Powle Contrarotulatoris Hanaperii Cancellariæ suæ et aliorum præsentia præfato Nicholao Bacon Armigero Custodiendum utendum et exorcendum tradidit et liberavit, Ipsumque Nicholaum Bacon Custodem magni sigilli sui Angliæ adtunc et ibidem fecit ordinavit et

The seal, the impression of which is six inches in diameter, is engraved in Speed's *Historie of Great Britaine*, 1632, and also in Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England*, 1707. The figures of Philip and Mary,

constituit Et superinde præfatus Nicholaus Bacon sigillum prædictum de manibus dictæ dominæ Reginæ gratulanter accipiens quoddam breve de convocationis summonitione ibidem sigillari mandavit, deinde sigillum illud in bagas prædictas iterum reponi et sigillo suo proprio munire fecit ac curam et custodiam ejusdem magni sigilli durante beneplacito dictæ dominæ Reginæ super se assumpsit, ac penes se retinuit et retinet in præsentī.

*De cancellatione dicti Sigilli et
deliberatione alterius novi Sigilli
pro magno Sigillo Angliæ ordinati.*

} Memorandum quod die Iovis, videlicet,
vicesimo sexto die Ianuarii anno
regni dominæ Elisabethæ Reginæ
primo Egregius vir Nicholaus Bacon

miles custos magni Sigilli Angliæ a prænobili viro Henrico Comite Arundell Senescallo Hospicii dictæ Reginæ necnon egregiis viris Thome Parry milite Thesaurario Hospicii dictæ Reginæ ac Willielmo Cicell Principali Secretario ejusden Reginæ comitatus ad præfatam Reginam apud Palacium suum de Westmonasterio in interiori privata camera sua infra Palatium prædictum existentem circiter horam sextam post meridiem ejusdem diei accessit secum deferens magnum sigillum dictæ dominæ Reginæ imaginibus Philippi et Maria nuper Regis et Reginæ Angliæ insculptum in custodia dicti Nicholai Bacon militis adtunc existens ac idem Nicholaus adtunc et ibidem in præsentia Nobilium virorum prædictorum ac etiam in præsentia nobilis viri domini Roberti Dudley Magistri Equorum dictæ Reginæ ac quorundam aliorum sigillum prædictum eidem Reginæ obtulit et deliberavit Ipsaque sigillum prædictum aquo animo a præfato Nicholao adtunc et ibidem recipiens illud dirumpi frangi et quassari mandavit ac superinde dictus Nicholaus sigillum prædictum e camera prædicta in exteriorem privatam cameram dictæ Reginæ portavit et illud in præsentia Edmundi Marten Armigeri Clerici Coronæ Cancellariæ dictæ Reginæ Thomæ Cotton Armigeri deputati Clerici Hanaperii Cancellariæ prædictæ Thomæ Thomson deputati Contrarotulatoris Hanaperii prædicti Johannis Everton Spigurnelli sive sigillatoris dictæ Cancellariæ necnon Edmundi Daye Officiarii Cæræ ac quorundam aliorum ad mandatum Regium prædictum dirumpi frangi et quassari causavit, Eoque peracto dictus Nicholaus adtunc et ibidem quoddam aliud sigillum imagine armis et titulis honorum dictæ Reginæ tantummodo insculptum ac pro magno sigillo dictæ Reginæ Angliæ noviter ordinatum et fabricatum quod tunc in præsentī habuit in medium profert, ac quoddam breve de diem clausit extremum cum eodem novo sigillo

on horseback, form the design on one side, whilst the other represents them seated, crowned, with the Royal arms between them. Thus the silver cup which now forms one of the curiosities of Norfolk, the gift of Sir Nicholas Bacon to his son at Stiffkey, where no doubt it was the pride of the old hall, brings down to us, not only a memory and expression of the tyranny of Mary, the bigotry of Philip, the wisdom of Elizabeth and her advisers, but bears actually on its surface the touch of the royal fingers, and transmits a lingering atmosphere of the royal chamber; supplying us with a palpable link connecting our time and county with the public interests and the bodily presence of the "Great Lady of the greatest Isle," "the most royal Queene, renowned for piety, virtue, and all gracious government."

But long before the light of Elizabeth, "like Phœbus' lamp throughout the world did shine," and before that remote speck in her dominions had received a ray of illumination from its connection with her times, Stiffkey had its share of "simple annals," "destinies obscure," and dim biographies, and some record is discoverable of the earlier inhabitants and possessors of the sea-bound village.

sigillari fecit Et deinde ad præfatam Reginam in interiorem privatam cameram prædictam rediit deferens secum tam quassatum sigillum prædictum quam alterum illud novum unacum brevi prædicto in forma prædicta sigillatum ac ea eidem dominæ Reginæ videri et considerari deliberavit, Quibus visis intellectis et consideratis dicta Regina prædictum novum sigillum eidem Nicholao Custodi magni sigilli Angliæ pro magno sigillo dictæ Reginæ Angliæ utendum et exercendum in præsentia nobilium virorum prædictorum attunc et ibidem commisit tradidit et redeliberavit Ipseque prædictum novum sigillum de dicta Regina attunc et ibidem in præsentia eorumdem nobilium virorum gratulanter recipiens in exteriorem cameram prædictam recessit ac illud in præsentia prædictorum Edmundi Marten Thomæ Cotton Thomæ Thomson Johannis Everton et Edmundi Daie attunc in dicta exteriori privata camera existentium ac adventum dicti Nicholai expectantes in quandam perulam de corio poni et sigillo suo proprio muniri et sigillari fecit ac sic munitum et sigillatum in quendam sacculum velveti rubri insigniis regiis decoratum posuit, illudque penes se retinuit et retinet.

A curious parallel to the story of Sir Nathaniel Bacon and his three daughters appears some 250 years earlier, when a similar circumstance occurred in the place, and to the owner of the very same property; a member of a family who for some centuries lived at Stiffkey, the Irminglands, dying also without a son, and leaving three daughters, on whom the manor devolved. One of these daughters married a Daubeney, and the arms of Irmingland, and Daubeney not impaled, but on separate shields, carved in stone, very clearly and boldly, set in squares of ornamental masonry, are placed on the porch, in the spandrels of the entrance arch. The arms of Irmingland are,⁷ Argent on a fesse between six billets gules, three Cornish choughs: those of Daubeney, Gules, a fesse fusilly, argent and two martlets in chief.

The Irminglands came originally from a place of that name near Aylsham, "a numerous family which continued long at Irmingland, and had land."⁸ They sold their manor, and moved to Stiffkey in 1327. One of them, Margaret, sister and heir of John, who was rector of Stivekey in 1408, married Richard Calthorp; a monument, which was noticed by Weever in the church, shows another marriage with the Calthorpes.

"In the north side of this church," (miscalled Stiskey,) "John Calthorpe, Esq., and Alice Irmingland, his wife; the monument defaced, upon which are their portraits in coat armor."⁹

Stiffkey in 1491 ceased to be connected with the Irminglands, and, passing through the hands of the Wynters, was for a time the property of Sir William Fermor, that "illustrious" and "mighty knight," who, as narrated by

⁷ The arms are given in Glover's *Ordinary*, Ermingland or Ermyngland, Norfolk.

⁸ Blomefield, vol. vi. page 320.

⁹ Weever's *Funeral Monuments*, page 548, edit. 1767.

Sir Henry Spelman, "built the house" at East Barsham called Wolterton Manor House, which, rising antequely from the valley meadows, with picturesque and varied outline, elegant decoration of moulded brickwork, and turretted gatehouse enriched with royal arms, attests the taste and affluence of its earliest owner. He appears to have paid a tribute to two kings, the arms on the entrance door being flanked by the supporters of Henry the VII.,¹ whilst those on the gatehouse display the lion and dragon of his successor.²

Stiffkey again changed possessors once or twice before becoming the property of the Bacons, and the memory of the families who were connected with the place was kept up, as was so often the case, by the presence of their coats of arms in the church. These shields, nine in number, are no longer visible; but are enumerated by Blomefield. They were those, partly, of the successive owners, and the families with whom they intermarried, up to the time of Sir Nathaniel Bacon; and it is therefore probable, since the arms of no later owner are inserted, that they were placed in the church by him.

The heraldic page, therefore, which presents itself at Stiffkey,—the "writing on the wall,"—consists of, first, the nine shields which have already been described, namely,

¹ Greyhound and griffin or dragon.

² Some uncertainty attaches to the date of this house. Sir William Fermor, who is said by Sir Henry Spelman to have built it, inherited the property in 1534 from his father, Sir Henry Fermor. The assertion of Spelman; the date on the window in the hall, 1538, mentioned by Blomefield; and the same date given by other authorities as the probable one; the arms of Henry VIII. on the gatehouse,—would all seem to identify it with Sir William Fermor. Mr. Kerr, the author of *The English Gentleman's House*, where he gives a plan of the Mansion at East Barsham, places it (page 47) in the list of sixteenth-century houses, although he remarks (page 41) that the arrangement is characteristic of an earlier date, and asserts that it has been assigned to the last years of the previous century.

the arms carved upon the gateway of the house, the six on the tomb of Sir Nathaniel Bacon, and those on the porch of the church; all of which remain in fair preservation,—and that other nine, which have long ceased to yield either the information or the ornament which they were once intended to afford; the welcome morsels of vivid colour being as effectually reduced to dust as the individuals whom they represented.

The coats of arms were, those of Irmingland, Calthorpe, Le Strange, Wynter, Reymes, de la Rokeley, Bacon, Inglois, and the following shield—Or, three pallets sable, quartering, argent, a chevron engrailed between three leopards' heads or. The word argent is probably a mistake or misprint, and the shield intended may be that of Wilford—Gules, a chevron engrailed between three leopards' heads or. These arms are on a portrait at Costessey Hall, with the name, Sir Jacob Wilford, 1547. Barsham of Norfolk bore, Or, three pallets gules; several names have been attributed to the arms, Or, three pallets sable.³

The arms of Inglois occur in many churches in Norfolk; the name of Reymes was well-known in Norfolk; a branch of the Essex family of whom, according to M. Planché, traces are perpetually to be found among the relics of the Anglo-Norman nobility; the reason of the "relic" of this race in Stiffkey church being an alliance between the Reymes's and Wynters. The other shields were, with the exception of Le Strange, de la Rokeley, and the last one mentioned, those of the owners of the manor. The church, besides the Bacon monuments, contains now no special point of interest; it consists of a nave and chancel; at the south-east and north-west corners of the nave an octagon turret of some height; and a north porch of the fifteenth century, decorated with mosaic of flint-work, and with the arms of Irmingland and d'Aubeney, as before described. Of

³ Athol, Bewley, Farley, Ayrle.

the companion church no traces remain above-ground, although there are indications of foundations in the vicinity of the present church. The situation, unless excavations were made, can only be surmised; but light is thrown upon the existence of the actual building, traditionally recognized, and upon the date of its disuse, by some of the old Stiffkey wills preserved in the Court of Probate at Norwich, where mention is made of these two churches. From the will of Edward Lecke of Styvekey St. John, dated May, 1489, it appears that he gave legacies to the high altar of St. John, and to the high altar of St. Mary's, and legacies for the "amendment of the bells" in St. John's Church, and for the "amendment of the bells" in St. Mary's.

Margaret Branch of Styvekey, widow, by will dated February, 1490, directs to be buried in the chancel of St. John's Church; in 1546, Alice Greve, widow, gives sixpence to each of the high altars of St. Mary and St. John; in 1552, John Framyngham of Stiffkey St. John, directed his body to be buried where it should please his executors; gives to the parson of St. John's, "my curat," 6s. 8d.,—to the parson of St. Mary's, 6s. 8d.; in 1557, Robert Sherryngham of Stiffkey, labourer, desires to be buried in the churchyard of St. Mary's; in 1558, Henry Howman of Stewque, directs his body to be buried "in the churchyard" of Stewque, and gives to "Stewque Church" 10d. The subsequent wills do not mention the Church of St. John Baptist, and Blomefield, who asserts the fact of the two churches,⁴ the ruins perhaps standing in his day, gives the double list of Rectors up to the year 1559, after which one individual only is recorded as holding the two benefices.

In the *East Anglian*,⁵ vol. ii. page 225, an extract is

⁴ Blomefield's *Norfolk*, 8vo. edition, vol. ix. p. 253.

⁵ Edited by Mr. J. L'Estrange, who has supplied the substance of the information afforded by the above wills.

given from the certificates for the Norwich Archdeaconry; the particular certificate quoted being undated, but of which the mention of Nathaniel Bacon (before his knighthood in 1604) determines the period. It is as follows:—"A true certificate of such churches and chancells which are notoriously ruinated and decaied within the Archdeaconrie of Norwich, and by whose means, default, and necligence they have been so ruinated and decaied, so far forth as canne be presentlie learned according to comandement given by the right reverend ffather in God Will^m by God's providence the now lord bishop of Norwich in that behalf. D Walsingham, Stifkey. In the saide towne wer two churches in tymes past, one of them whollie ruynated and pfaned. M. Nathaniel Bacon is lord and patron thereof, the other church is verie sufficientlie repaired and maintayned by the prishners wth all ornaments belonging to the same."

Two church steeples then, had, up to some twenty years before Sir Nicholas Bacon was lord and patron of Stiffkey, overshadowed the humble mounds where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet" slept to the sound of the waves, and, from their guardian walls, two sets of bells rang out their magic duet to dispel, according to the old belief, the fury of the rising gale,—a pardonable superstition in the vicinity of that stormy and dangerous coast; or announced, from time to time, to his wondering dependants, the news of those foreign victories in which Sir Walter Manny, one of the heroes of Froissart, and who for several years possessed this manor, took so prominent a part.

The story of Stiffkey, which includes this early association, lingers on until the disappearance of the last "Bacon" from the scene,—when all connection with recorded events and personages ceases, and the place, yielding nothing further of family or public interest, becomes one only in that series of illustrations of the past, durable and suggestive, of which Norfolk possesses its share in common with the rest of this

country, whose comparative freedom from foreign invasion, and the destruction which accompanies it, has permitted so many a secluded English village to offer still its contribution of historical evidence, or its memorial of human skill and life long passed away.

Hindringham,
~~Dorham.~~ Walsingham
Saturday

Sir,
I send you by today post
a corrected proof of a paper
for the Report of the Norfolk
Archaeological Society.

I received it from Mr Manning
and forward it to you by his
direction.

Yours faithfully,
W. Waters



Norfolk Words

NOT FOUND IN FORBY'S "VOCABULARY."

COMMUNICATED BY

W. G. WATERS, ESQ.

THE words contained in the following collection have every one come under my personal notice; and, so far as my knowledge goes, have not been hitherto dealt with. While I was engaged in collecting them I learnt accidentally that some years ago a supplementary volume to Forby's *Vocabulary* had been published, but that it was now out of print and very scarce. I have not been able to consult it, and I must, on this account, beg forbearance in case I may have given below words already therein catalogued.¹ In claiming all the words I now produce as genuine Norfolk provincialisms, I by no means intend to assert that their use is limited by the boundaries of our own county. I readily admit that many of them are known in other parts of England, and that a student of dialect, working in Somersetshire or Cumberland, might claim them with just as valid a title as I do myself.

An asterisk is prefixed to those words which appear in Forby with different meanings.

ASHEL, *v.* To cut bricks to form a joint in masonry.

*BALK, *v.* To let land lie fallow. Vide "Summerlay."

BELT, *s.* A narrow strip of woodland.

¹ It has since been compared, and the words in both lists are noted.

BETTER, *adj.* More. Ex., "I have known him *better* than ten years."

BETTY, *s.* The familiar name applied to the kettle.

BOWDER RUSHES, *s.* Coarse rushes used for making horse collars.

BROW, *v.* To clear away rough grass and brambles; "Browings" is the term applied to the rubbish when it is collected.

BRUSH and BRUSHINGS have the same meanings as the preceding words.

BURKNOT, *s.* An excrescence often found growing on elm and oak trees.

CAMP, *v.* "The rooks are camping" is an expression often heard in the autumn when those birds assemble together and gyrate in the air.

CAPPLE, *s.* The revolving wooden loop on the top of a flail by which the "swingel" is attached to the "handstaff."

CHAR-HOLE, *s.* The place in the roof of a stack in which stands the harvest man who takes the corn from the man below him.

CHURCH-HOLE, *s.* The grave.

CLOSURE, *s.* The cover or binding of a book.

COOMB, *s.* A measure of four bushels.

CRAB-GRASS, *s.* The common sand-wort.

CRADLE, *s.* An iron fixed upon a scythe to gather the corn. In the latter days of mowing it superseded the primitive "bail."

CROW, *s.* A heavy iron instrument used for making holes in the ground for hurdles or fold stakes.

CULLS, *s.* Refuse cattle.

DILBERRIES, *s.* Pellets of hardened dung hanging in the breech of a sheep.

DINGLE, *v.* To dawdle.

- *DOG, *s.* An instrument used for lifting carriages in order to grease the wheels.
- DOKER, *s.* A diminutive generally used with respect to young animals. Ex., "Have you seen my new calf? He is a neat little *doker*."
- DORL, DAWL, *v.* To stroke gently with the hand, to fondle.
- DRAW, *s.* A spade's depth in trenching. The same as "Spit." Cf. Forby.
- DRAW, *v.* To take the bread out of an oven, or the lime out of a kiln. Ex., "The baker *draws* his batch at twelve o'clock." "I shall *draw* my kiln to-morrow."
- DRIFT, DROVE, *s.* A field road.
- DRINGLING-PAINS, *s.* Premonition of labour in women.
- DUBBIN, *s.* A joint of meat. The same as the "bed." Cf. Forby.
- DUDDER, *v.* To shudder. [In Forby's *Supplement*.]
- FAN, *s.* A large basket.
- FINELY, *adj.* A term usually applied to convalescence after childbirth. [In Forby's *Supplement*.]
- FINGERS AND TOES, *s.* A disease common in turnips.
- FINTOMS, *s.* Fancies.
- FOOTLACE, *v.* To repair a wall just above the foundation.
- FRANK, *s.* A familiar name applied to the heron. Ex., "I see old *Frank* this morning."
- FREEMARTIN. A barren heifer: usually applied to the female calf of twins when the two are of different sex.
- FROTHY, *adj.* Light, slippery, unmanageable. Ex., "We can't do nothing with this here barley, sir, 'tis so *frothy*," is a frequent complaint in the harvest time when corn is carted without having had rain upon it. It is then said to "bulber" or "bulver." Cf. Forby, on the stack.
- GAN, *v.* For gave. Ex., "He never *gan* me anything."
- *GAVEL, *v.* To prepare straw for thatching.

GET, *v.* To gain time as a watch. Ex., "My watch *get* wonderfully."

GLEAVE, *s.* An eel spear.

GOING, *adj.* Customary, prevalent. Ex., "Less than *going* wages."

*HAKES, *s.* The iron on a plough to which the "pundle tree" is attached.

HAMES, *s.* Pieces of wood bound upon a horse's collar to which the "traise" are fastened.

HANDLE, *v.n.* A well-fattened ox is said to *handle* nicely.

HARLEY-HARTHER. The call by which the team-man directs his horses to go to the left. The opposite to "Woosh." Cf. Forby.

HARN, *s.* The beard of barley. The same as "havel." Forby.

HARRY DENCHMAN, *s.* The Danish crow.

HAVERIL, *s.* A half-witted fellow.

*HICKLE, *v.* To bring up by hand.

HISH, HUSH, *v.* To startle, to drive out. Ex., "Just you *hish* them pigs out of my garden."

HOG-CHAPPED, *adj.* Mouth deformed. The upper jaw being longer than the lower. A malformation common in sheep.

HUBGRUBBING, *adj.* Dirty, piggish.

HUFFLES, *s.* A kind of asthma common in pigs. [In Forby's *Supplement*.]

JANNOCK, *adj.* Fair. Ex., "I don't deal with him because he don't act *jannock*." [In Forby's *Supplement*, "a cake baked on the hearth."]

JERRY, *s.* A soft felt hat.

JOLL, *v.* To peck. Ex., "Don't you leave that old hare lying there, do the old crows will *joll* her."

*LAY, *v.* To persevere. Ex., "If I don't *lay* at my taking work, I sha'n't earn day's pay at it."

LAYER, LAWER, *s.* Young plants of whitethorn.

LICKUP, *s.* A small quantity of anything. Ex., "A little *lickup* of hay."

LUMPUS, *adj.* Heavily. All in a heap. Ex., "He came down *lumpus* on the ice."

MIDDLESTREE, *s.* The wooden standard to which barn doors are fastened.

MOCK, *v.* To place alternately so as to fill up interstices. The black squares on a chess-board may be said to *mock* each other.

MODERATE, *adj.* Is often used with no modified signification, but to express something absolutely bad. A rogue is said to be a *moderate* character. A man not in good health says, "I feel *moderately* to-day."

MOFFERY, *s.* A corruption of Hermaphrodite, a term usually applied to an agricultural carriage, half waggon half tumbril; sometimes to a malformed sheep.

MOLLY-HAWK, *s.* A heavy double-toothed mattock, connected perhaps with "Malahank."—Forby.

MONKERY, *s.* Unfair dealing—not *jaunock*.

NIGH NOR BY. For near, generally used in a reproachful sense. Ex., "He ha'nt been *nigh nor by* me for more than a year."

*NOISE, *v.* To make a disturbance. Ex., "Don't keep *noising* about here."

OFF-HAND. A farmer having an occupation apart from his homestead is said to farm it off-hand.

OFF-CORN, *s.* Refuse corn.

OLGET-HOLE, *s.* A corruption of eye-let. A hole left in the wall of a barn for light and ventilation.

OUT. (1) To make an *out*, to finish anything. Ex., "I made a bad *out* with my bullocks this year."

(2) To make *out*, to establish a fact. Ex., "They *made out* that they were right after all."

PARSLEY BREAKSTONE, *s.* The common saxifrage.

PATIENCE, *s.* Peculiar plural use. Ex., "One wants a good many *patience* to put up with such goings on."

PEEL, *s.* A flat shovel used by bakers in taking the bread out of the oven.

*PEND, *s.* Emergency. Ex., "He helps me in a *pend*."

PIN-HORSE, *s.* The horse next the shaft-horse. The order of the horses in a Norfolk team being—1, Fore-horse; 2, Lash-horse; 3, Pin-horse; 4, Shaft-horse. The term "thill horse," formerly applied to the last, is now quite obsolete. Auctioneers' catalogues however still speak of *thill-horse gears*.

PLUMPATEEL, *adj.* Direct, straightforward. Ex., "He never 'gan' me a *plumpateel* answer."

POLLARD, *s.* Fine bran.

*POPPLE, *v.* To talk foolishly.

PRICKER, *s.* A small "brauch." Cf. Forby—used in thatching.

PULFER, *s.* The fieldfare.

QUARTER, *s.* The portion of the road between the wheel ruts and the horse track. In carting clay or turnips on the land, when deep ruts begin to be made, the men are ordered to *Quarter*, i.e., to drive on the untracked parts of the road.

QUITE, *adj.* For quiet.

RAT-WEED, *s.* An aquatic weed with a minute oval leaf which covers the surface of stagnant water.

REED HEARTH, *s.* A reed plantation or bed.

*RIG, *s.* An imperfectly castrated sheep.

RIXY, *adj.* Imperfectly castrated; a term usually applied to horses.

RUB, *s.* A rough hone used for sharpening a scythe.

*SALLY, *s.* A swing for children. A name given to an "old" hare.

SCALE, *v.* To plough "fleetly."

SCOLED, *adj.* Diseased in the knees. In wet seasons lambs become *scoled* in great numbers. The term is indeed applied solely to them.

SHAPES, *s.* Wasted kernels of corn caused by premature or drought ripeness.

SHIFT, *s.* A division of land in crop rotation.

SIGHTABLE, *adj.* Seemly, tidy.

SKIRT, *v.* To trim hedgerows; and the sides of highways are skirted in the autumn.

SLAMMOCK, *v.* To walk awkwardly.

*SLEIGHT, *s.* Wear and tear. Ex., "I have a wonderful *sleight* for shoes with my children."

SNEERFRAYS, *s.* A sneering person.

SNOB, *s.* A shoemaker

SOLE, *v.* To beat violently. Ex., "Don't you *sole* that there old dickey so." There seems to be no connection between this word and "soll," (Cf. Forby) as it involves no idea of pulling. Its meaning is the same as to "baste" or to "thack."

SOSHING, *adv.* Diagonally. [In Forby's *Supplement*.]

SPANTREE, *s.* The threshold of a barn or outhouse.

SPINDLE, *v.* Wheat is said to *spindle* at the time when the ear is about to issue from the hose.

SPONGE, *s.* Bread in a state of dough. The baker "sets his *sponge*" when he leaves the dough to rise after putting in the yeast.

*SPORE, *v.* To prune fruit-trees.

*STAG, *s.* A young bull.

STALE, *v.* A horse *stales* in voiding urine.

STAR, *v.* To stand on end. A horse's coat *stars* when he has a cold.

STOOR, *v.* For stir. To plough land in preparation for barley in the early spring.

STREAK, *s.* A piece of iron used in shoeing a cart wheel: each *streak* is one-fifth or one-sixth of a circle

STUGGY, *adj.* Short, thickset, "pluggy."

SUMMERLAY, *s.* This word is probably a survival of the system of fallow farming now almost extinct. It was formerly applied to the land which was "summertilled," or "balked." Wheat stubbles once ploughed are still called *summerlays*, and are "wharted" in spring before turnips are sown.

SWINNY, *s.* A little crab common on the Norfolk coast.

TAD, *s.* Excrement.

THACK, *v.* To flog.

TIP, *s.* A piece of iron fixed on the toe of a high-low.

TONGUE-BLEED, *s.* A common weed.

TOGS, *s.* Small crabs.

TRACK, *v.* The after wheels of a carriage are said to *track* when they follow exactly in the mark of the fore wheels. A machine which does not work smoothly is said not to *track* nicely.

TRAISE, *s.* For traces. The word is exclusively used for the iron chain traces used in agriculture.

TUTTLE BOX. A piece of wood kept suspended between horses at plough. It has sometimes a sharp point on one side to prevent the horse walking on the unploughed land from "crowding" against the horse in the furrow.

WEATHER-BREEDER. Fine weather in winter or early spring. The meaning of the term is, that fine weather out of season will produce bad weather when fine should naturally come.

WHOLE, *adj.* Stiff, congested. Ex., "My old mare goes right *whole* after her hard journey."

WILLY-WILLY. A goose call.

WINDLE, *s.* A basket used in winnowing corn.



SIGILLUM ABBATIS ET CONVENTUS DE WENDLINGE
IN NORFOLK, 1456.

Seal of Wendling Abbey.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M.A.,

Hon. Sec.

A BRIEF account of Wendling Abbey, Norfolk, was communicated to the Society in a previous volume of our *Papers* by the Rev. James Bulwer. The materials that are known for its history or architecture are very slight; and it is there observed that while Dugdale and Tanner and others have only recorded a few names of its abbots, "the seal is not known." (Vol. v. p. 40.)

By the kindness of Mr. C. Golding of Romford, with whose contributions to the study of the provincial coinage

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relating to the Eastern Counties our members are well acquainted, I am enabled to furnish an illustration, from an old drawing, of the Seal, an impression of which may possibly still exist among the documents' belonging to the Corporation of Norwich. Mr. Golding obtained the drawing with some manuscripts of Kirkpatrick's of Norwich, and "Tom" Martin's of Palgrave, which came into his possession a few years ago. The date 1456 is probably the date of the document to which the seal was affixed; but the seal itself appears to be considerably earlier. In a memorandum accompanying his drawings of seals, Mr. Golding informs me that he has the following: "The Common Seal of y^e Abbey of Wendling, 27 Edw. 3" (1353), to which is added "In Archiv. Civitat^{is} Norwič."

Not much reliance can, of course, be placed on the design shewn in the Seal for recovering the architectural appearance of the abbey church. But if it was at all like the original, it would seem to have been a Norman building, with a tower and spire at the west end, and also a short tower and spire on each transept. The west front may have been of Early English or Decorated character.

If other collectors would follow the good example of Mr. Golding, and occasionally contribute isolated matters from their stores, many missing links in our county archæology would be usefully supplied.

Gilbert Haultoft's Will.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.

IN the second volume of the *Norfolk Archæology*, p. 97 and seq., there is a valuable and interesting collection of Extracts from Wills preserved in the muniment-room at Stow Bardolph Hall. The extracts were made by that accomplished archæologist, the late Rev. G. H. Dashwood, and are characterised by his usual accuracy and judgment. Unfortunately they are only extracts, and therefore unsatisfactory. In the course of this year, while pursuing some genealogical researches, I applied to Sir Thomas Hare, through Mr. Dashwood's successor, the Rev. E. E. Blencowe, for permission to inspect one of the wills from which Mr. Dashwood had printed his extracts, viz., that of Gilbert Haultoft of Outwell. In a courteous reply, I was informed that since Mr. Dashwood had printed his extracts the will had disappeared. A careful search has since then been instituted, but hitherto without result.

Some weeks ago, while turning over the MSS. at Rainthorpe Hall, I came upon a Household Book which formerly belonged to the Finchams of Outwell. Its contents are of a very miscellaneous character, but all bear more or less upon the history of the parishes of Outwell, Upwell, and Elme, and are mainly concerned with the constant disputes regarding the drainage of these and the contiguous parishes.

The earliest document is a transcript of an award made by Henry, Prior of La Marchmont, and Sir Henry de Walpole, Knight, on a dispute concerning the repairing of a bank or dyke in the parishes of Outwell and Upwell, and which dates back to the year 1308. The latest was written during the reign of Charles I. Among these documents I found the will of Gilbert Haultoft *in extenso*, and a minute account of all his lands and tenements, with the names of the various tenants at the time of his death. The award of Sir Henry de Walpole has been referred to by Collins and Blomefield, but has never been printed. Gilbert Haultoft's will is now given in full to guard against all risks of any future loss or destruction of so interesting a document.

This will settles a question which has been discussed among us before. In more than one pedigree of the Walpole family it has been asserted that Henry Walpole of Harpley married a daughter of Gilbert Haultoft, (either Alianore or Margaret) and through her became possessed of the Whaplode estates, which were sold in 1591. This will and the terrier annexed makes no mention whatever of any estates in Lincolnshire. Moreover, it is quite clear that Gilbert Haultoft had but three daughters. One of these (Margaret) was married at the time of her father's death to Thomas Kerville, and inherited the manor of Richmond, with lands in Wisbeach and Leverington, and had issue. Alianore, the third daughter, married Simon Bachfort of Bexwell, and inherited the manor of Lovell and other lands in Emneth: she too left issue. Alice, the second daughter, married Thomas Dereham of Crimplesham, and had by him a daughter, Elizabeth, through whom the lands in Outwell, Upwell, and Elme descended to the Finchams, by her marriage with John Fincham of Outwell, who died in 1528. It is quite certain, therefore, that there was no marriage between a Walpole and any daughter of Gilbert

Haultoft. That Henry Walpole of Harpley *did* marry a Haultoft I do not doubt at all; but she must have been descended, I think, from the "William Haultoft, senior," who was one of the executors of Gilbert Haultoft's will, and who figures as one of the twenty-two principal people in Lincolnshire, who are returned upon the Subsidy Rolls in Henry VII.'s reign as holding land or rents above £40 a year in value. In this roll his name appears as "*Willielmus Haultoft de Quaplode, senior.*" — Subsidy Rolls, Norfolk, S.P.O. **†††**.

Testamtm Gilberti Haultoft secūdi Baronis Scaccarij
(*sic*) Dñi Regis Henrici Sexti.

In dei nomine Amen. Ego Gilbertus Haultoft de Outwell sane (Deo dante) memorie x^{mo} die Januarii An^o Dñi M^{mo} cccc^{mo} l^{mo} vii^{mo} condo Testamtm meū ac meā ultimā voluntatem in hunc modum. Imprimis lego Animam meā Deo Redemptori meo et Corpus meū ad sepeliendū infra sacrū locū ubi Deo placuerit. Et volo quod primo et præ aliis sequentibus omnia debita mea, quæ debeo, solvantur. Et quod debita restitutio pro injuriis meis, si que fuerint, fiat cito absque delacione p Executores meos. Item volo quod xx ti. quas debeo Simeoni Eyn de London pro W^{mo} Blakman pro manerio de Richmond solvantur per Executores meos. Item volo quod Margareta uxor mea habeat durante vita omnia maneria terras ten^{ta} redditus et servicia, que habeo, ac que aliqua personæ (*sic*) ad usum et proficium meum habet in villis de Outwell, Upwell, Elme, Wisebeche, Leverington, et Emneth tam in Com. Can^t, quam in Com. Norff. si ipsa sola sine marito manserit, et non maritata in posterū fuerit, absque aliquo wasto inde faciend, ita quod ipsa honeste custodiet Aliciam et Alianoram filias meas et ipsas maritaverit et invenierit unū Capellanū idoneū annātim

per x^m annos proximos sequen^t mortem meam ad celebrandū divina in Ecclia S^ci Clementi (*sic*) in Outwell pro aia mea et animabus Rob^ti Hakebech milit. et Johⁿes (*sic*) Mitron et omnium benefactorū meorū. Item volo quod Alicia filia mea habeat post mortem dicti Marg^g uxoris mee Maneriū de Budbech Vernons ⁊ Critofts, ac oia (*sic*) terras et ten^{ta} Reddit^g et servicia, quæ habeo in villis de Outwell, Upwell, et Elme, tam in Com. Cant^g quam in Com. Norff. habend^g eidem Alicie et heredibus de corpore suo procreandis, et deficiente tali herede, predicta maneria terr^g et ten^{ta} remaneant Alianore filie meæ et Margarette filie meæ habend^g sibi et hered^g de corporibus earund^m Margarette et Alianore exeuntibus. Et si oēs filie mee predictæ sine heredibus de corpor^g suis obierunt, tunc predicta maneria terra (*sic*) et ten^{ta} remaneant Elizabethe ux^g Thome Bennet de Pinchebecke et hered^g de corpore eiusdem Elizabethe procreandis et deficiente tali herede remaneant rectis hered^g meis in ppetuū.

Item volo quod Margareta filia mea uxor Thome Kervill habeat post mortem predictæ ux^g mee Maniū de Richmond ac omnia (*sic*) terras et ten^{ta} mea in Wisbech et Leverington heñd eidem Margarete filie mee et hered^g de corpore suo exeuntib^z, et deficiente tali herede remaneant p Alicie et Alianore filiab^z meis et hered^g de corporibus earū exeuntibus. Et si oēs filie meæ pr^æ obierunt sine hered^g de corpore (*sic*) suis, tunc remaneant prefat^g Elizabethe et hered^g suis de corpore suo, ⁊c., in forma p^æd. Item volo qd Alianora filia mea habeat post mortem d^cte uxoris meæ Maniū de Lovell ac oia (*sic*) terras et ten^{ta} mea in Emneth habendū sibi et heredibus de corpore suo, et remaneant inde d^cis sororibus suis in forma sup^{ra} recitata, ⁊c. Et si p^æd^cta Margareta uxor mea maritata fuerit post mortem meam, tunc volo quod nihil habeat de prædictis maneriis terris seu tenementis sed tantum dictum Manerium de Richmond, quod ipsa habebit tunc pro termino vitæ suæ absque

vasto faciendo, si ipsa non petat aliquam dotem de residuo terrarum et tenementorum meorum prædictorum. Item volo quod si prædicta Margareta uxor mea post mortem meam maritata fuerit, tunc volo quod executores mei percipiant aññatim omnia (*sic*) reventus et proficua omnium Maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum meoꝝ predictorum in villis de Elme Outwell Upwell et Emneth per octo annos proximos sequentes mortem meam cum quibus debent invenire predictas Aliciam et Alianorem filias meas honeste, quousque illæ per eorum discretionem maritentur, et etiam debent cum dictis proficuis invenire annuatim durantibus dictis 8^o annis unum Capellanum idoneum divina in Ecclesia parochiali de Outwell celebrare pro anima mea et pro animabus Roberti Hakebeche militis, Johannis Mitron, et omnium benefactorum meorum, ac annuatim custodiendum diem anniversum obitus mei in Ecclesie parochiali prædicta distribuendum annatim dicto die x^o in exequiis missis et pauperibus ibidem existentibus.

Et volo quod quando dicta Alicia perveniat ad ætatem xviii^m annorum, quod ipsa maritetur per discretionem executorum meorum meliori modo quo potuerint, et tunc volo quod ipsa habeat omnia maneria terras et tenementa mea prædicta in dictis villis de Elme, Upwell, et Outwell cum pertiñ tam in Com. Cant^o quam in Com. Norff. sibi et heredibus de corpore suo remanere inde dictis sororibus suis ut supra. Et simili modo volo quod omnia reventus et proficua prædict^o Maneriorum terrarum et tenementorum in Elme Outwell Upwell et Emneth, ultra omne illud quod executores mei expendent circa inventionem dictarum duarum filiarum mearum, ac circa inventionem dicti Capellani et diem anniversam mei per octo annos ut prædicitur, remaneant in manibus dictorum executorum meorum, et quod tota summa dictorum proficuorum ultra dicta onera, ut prædicitur, remanens equaliter dividatur, et una medietas inde equaliter distribuatur circa maritagium dictarum duarum

filiarum mearum, et altera medietas inde distribuatur per executores meos in exequendis et perimplendis legata mea et hanc meam ultimam voluntatem, et alia opera Caritalina, (*sic*) ꝑc. Item lego quadraginta marcas ad reparacionem ecclesie de Emneth pro anima Roberti Hakebeche militis, et lego pro anima ejusdem Roberti cuilibet Capellano generali ordinum fratrum mendicantium de Lynne, silicet fratribus prædicatorum ꝑ minorum quinque marcas eidem (*sic*) per testamentum dicti Roberti legať cum litera fraternitatis inde penes me remanenť apud Wellis.

Item volo quod executores mei faciant de novo y^e roof of Christofer Chapple in Outwell et exaltant muros ejusdem capellæ melius quam nunc est prout fuerit proficuum et decens pro eadem capella ad honorem dei Beate Marie Virginis ꝑ Scti Christoferi, ꝑc.

Item ordino et constituo Executores meos scilt. W^m Haultoft senior, W^m Breewode de Ely, W^m Cley rector Ecclesias de Outwell, et Christofer Halow de eadem, ac rogo Roger Bucke de London esse supervisor et adjutor hujus ultime voluntatis et Testamenti mei, ꝑc.

Probatum fuit suprascriptum Testamentum coram Dño in domo fratrum Carmelitorum de Aylesford 7 die mensis Octobr^o Anno 1458 ac approbatum, ꝑc. Et commissa fuit administratio omnium ꝑ singulorum bonorum, ꝑc. Willielmo Haultoft, sen^r, W^{mo} Breewode et Christofero Halowe executoribus in eodem Testamento nominať de bene et fideliter ad ministř bona hmōd^o, ac de pleno et fideliter () omnium et singloř bonoř hmōd^o conficiend^o et () citř festũ Nativitř scti Johis Baptiste prox^o exhibendũ necnon de pleno compoto, ꝑc., in debiť iuris forme () reservai pťatẽ.

The Stapeltons of Ingham.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. JAMES LEE-WARNER, M.A.

AMONG the distinguished families who, with the Warennes and the Bigods, have left their mark upon our county, there are few more illustrious than those of Ingham and Stapelton. A brief memoir of their alliance seems not unworthy of our *Journal*, at a time when the church of Ingham, of which they were the builders, is rescued from that state, which even in the last century moved the indignation of Gough and Cotman. To these we are indebted for all that now remains of its sepulchral brasses; and one of them denounces in no measured terms "the stable-like slovenliness of this most curious Church, and the neglect of repair to the Chancel." Especially the opportunity is appropriate, because an original document has come into our hands, connecting our Norfolk Stapelton with a church in another county, which, like the church of Ingham, remains as a noble example of the pure architecture of the period, and the pious munificence of its builder.

We may consider the church of Ingham as raised by filial affection to the memory of an illustrious progenitor. Sir Oliver de Ingham, whose recumbent figure occupies within its chancel the place of a founder's monument,

was the last of a family, which, whatever its origin, at least had its name from its settlement among the Broads of Norfolk; and therefore did not, like the Warennes or Valences, betray a foreign extraction. Members of it had been distinguished during preceding reigns. His grandfather, who lies in Norwich, had attended Edward I. in Wales; but the Sir Oliver, of whom we speak, appears first in history in the reign of Edward II., being some years his senior. To him was addressed the mandate for Wilts and Berks, to raise the Posse Comitatus, when the king's cousin of Lancaster was in open arms against him.—[Rymer, Nov. 30. 1321.] To him was commission given, as Royal Justiciary of Chester, to pursue the rebel, Roger Mortimer, with hue and cry (*hutesio et clamore*) on his escape from the Tower of London.—[Rymer, 1323.] But Mortimer had meantime made his escape good in an opposite direction; and nothing can more fully prove the distracted state of the kingdom, than to find our Justiciary in the camp of the enemy. So far from apprehending the traitor, he had joined him on equal terms at the court of Queen Isabella, which, from political reasons, as well as reasons of preference, she had established at Paris, surrounded by the exiled or fugitive Barons. Here, only two years later, he is called by Walsingham, "*miles juvenis, sed cordatus*,"—an expression hardly applicable to a man over his fortieth year; but, amidst the darkness and disgrace in which Edward's sun was setting, we may hail Sir Oliver as the chosen instrument, by whom the first ray of light was to break in upon the prospect, and inaugurate a brighter day.

For we must not look on the proceeding as the deliberate act of a traitor. In serving Isabella and the young prince, Sir Oliver might well deem that he was giving proof of loyalty and patriotism. He therefore placed his sword at their service, and accepted from the latter,—then only a stripling of thirteen,—an important and high commission

to raise a body of mercenaries, and recover Aquitaine for England. So well did he acquit himself, that he expelled the French, and occupied the valley of the Garonne from Bordeaux to Agen, upwards. Neither was Yarmouth idle, while Ingham was thus occupied; for one hundred and twenty merchantmen are reported in that year, brought in as national prizes into that town and Portsmouth.—[Walsingham, 1325.]

At the outbreak of the war with France, which, in fact, was now imminent, the historians of Edward's reign have found a tangled skein, which even the very best of them have failed completely to unravel. The vacillation of the king, the intrigues of the queen, the mediation of the pope, and the double government of Guienne by the prince and his father, in that "strange species of sovereignty established by the feudal law," at this particular period, confused every transaction. But, putting aside all this, let us follow the career of our hero, who, when he crossed the Channel, could not have expected a bed of roses. He had left the pleasant district in which, as Justiciary of Chester, or Constable of Ellesmere Castle, he had found employ; a district moreover attractive to him as the residence of his daughter Joan, the wife of Lord Strange of Knockyn, who was destined, by a second marriage, to perpetuate the Ingham blood in the family of Stapelton.

Arriving in the province of his future government, he found a very disturbed district. A petty conflict had been raging, which eventually proved the spark applied to a barrel of powder, and very soon produced no common explosion. Rapin, in his *History* (vol. i. p. 398), puts the matter thus: "At a town in Agennois, called St. Sardos, Hugh, Lord of Montpezat, had built a castle on some land which he pretended was within the territory of the King of England, but which the King of France maintained to be his: and therefore he summoned the said Lord before

the Parliament of Paris, which adjudged the land to the King of France; and his officer in those parts immediately seized the castle. To recover it, the Lord of Montpezat assembled all his vassals, and received also assistance from the King's Seneschal of England; by which means he became again master of the castle, and put the French garrison to the sword."

But before the actual conflict, which culminated in the glorious fields of Crecy and Poitiers, some feeble attempts at accommodation were made. Commissioners on either side met to adjust differences. On the part of England, John Salmon, Bishop of Norwich, John of Brittany, and William de Ayremine (Armine) who was playing his own game, and intriguing successfully with the pope for the next appointment to the See.—[Rymer, June 13, 1325.] A treaty, draughted under such circumstances, was not very likely to please Edward, who summoned his commissioners [Rymer, March 6, 1326,] "*Ad respondendum super concordia contra intentionem Regis temere formatâ.*" About this time the king designates Sir Oliver "*dilectum et fidelem senescallum,*" to receive the submission of "*de Lebreth*" and others who had sided with the enemy, to fortify their castles, and to compose the province generally.—[Rymer, June, 1326.]

With this attitude of Edward towards his faithful seneschal, in whose fidelity and industry he professes the fullest confidence, let us compare the attitude of his rival, Charles de Valois, who, by his council, fulminates against Sir Oliver the following ultimatum, which loses none of its interest by being read in the barbarous jargon of the original.

"Item, pur ceo qui Monsieur Oliver de Ingham, le seigneur de Caumont, &c., [here follow the names of several of the English party] ont esté en cause des ditz movementz, et les ont meintenuz, par qoi ils ont encoru forfaiture

de corps et d'avoirs, nous avant-ditz Conseillers du Roi de France, pur la contemplacion de nostre treschere Dame, ma Dame la Reine d'Engleterre, sa seur, en noun de li, relessons et pardonoms as dites parsones poine de mort, et de membres, pur choses, faites puis les ditz moevemens, juges a ore, en muant et chainant les dites poines corporeles en poine de bannisement du Roiaume de Fraunce, mes q'il obeissent au Ban, &c."

"Don : a Paris le darrein (dernier) jour de Marz, 1326."

It would seem as if Sir Oliver felt but small inclination to incur even a remote chance of being made a scapegoat, according to the tenor of the above ultimatum. An opportunity presented itself of which he was not slow in taking instant advantage. In the prospect of immediate hostilities Paris might become too hot, even for Isabella herself; and as, on a former occasion, we saw the justiciary waver in his loyalty, so now, on a larger scale, the seneschal of Aquitaine transfers his allegiance to Isabella, already in open arms against the king, her consort. It is probable that, from the first, he had rejoined the queen's party on the Continent to concert with them a plan of action, and that he landed with them at Harwich, on Sept. 22nd in that year; for in the March following he is incidentally described in a public document as the late seneschal (*nuper senescallum*) when a charge was brought against him for having appropriated a whale, stranded on the coast of Gascony, to the prejudice of the lord of the district.—[Rymer, *De Balænâ captâ*, March 24, 1327.] But whether at that time he had joined Isabella or not, he had certainly returned to England; and so well did he stand, not only with the queen but with the nation, that, associated with archbishops, earls, and barons, as one of the council of regency, he is deputed by parliament to manage the affairs of the kingdom.

In this high position, to have kept clear of party might

have been his end and aim, but this was not in his nature, nor in the circumstances or the spirit of the times. Isabella and Mortimer had been his early patrons, and with them he continued to the end. And thus the Coup d'Etat at Nottingham, by which Edward, king "de jure," became king "de facto," discovers to us Sir Oliver again, conspicuous among the surprised confederates. For, in the celebrated proclamation, issued Oct. 20, 1330, in which Edward avows his intention of taking the reins of government into his own hands, he specially informs the high sheriffs that he had arrested the Earl of March, Sir Oliver Ingham, and Sir Simon Bereford, as chief movers in proceedings which had brought public affairs to hurt and dishonour, both of king and kingdom. The charge, thus formulated, was one of high treason; the complicity of the accused notorious; but the verdict (if such it can be called) mysterious and contradictory. The Earl of March was gibbeted and Sir Simon de Bereford hung; but Sir Oliver in a year's time returns with flying colours to his province; and in the sequel numerous proofs are forthcoming of the king's reliance on his judgment and fidelity. He reminds us of the familiar figure in a puppet show, who, amid the strangest of somersaults, always contrives to return to his equilibrium.

It is very commonly concluded that a man in parallel circumstances who obtains personal advancement amidst the shipwreck of his cause and disaster of his companions, has been guilty of some base compliance, or had recourse to underhand practices. But here the conclusion would be harsh, if we take into account the antecedent relations of Sir Oliver; and, after all, the key to the denouement can never be discovered, except through the previous process of unlocking the royal mind. Of course it is open to us to say, that Ingham's return to Aquitaine was a sentence of honourable exile; but far better will it be, if we can see

in it, on the part of a great king, a noble and far-seeing generosity, and on the part of a grateful subject, a corresponding loyalty. As long as Isabella was at large, and Edward her son a minor,—“under which ? king or queen ?” —was an oft-recurring perplexity ; but the security of Isabella’s person, and a suitable provision for her dignity, settled all difficulty, and the result justified the expedient.

From the Public Acts of the kingdom we obtain much insight into Sir Oliver Ingham’s employment during the closing years of his life. In civil affairs let the following example suffice, viz., a royal proclamation, Jan. 5th, 1338. —[Rymer.] “*Rex universis, &c., Sciatis, quod Nos, de circumspeditione provida et fidelitate probata Dilecti et Fidelis nostri, Oliveri de Ingham, Senescalli nostri Vasconiae, intimé confidentes, ad tractandum cum nobili viro, Johanne de Urrea, super aligantiis inter nos et ipsum ineundis,—et firmandum de vadiis, feodis, et stipendiis, &c.*”

In matters military a shorter method on occasion was found necessary ; *e.g.*, when, a year later, he held the city of Bordeaux, as the key of Aquitaine. This was one of his last exploits, and is best related in the words of the historian.—[Walsingham, anno 1339.] “*Per idem tempus, Civitas Burdegaliæ fuit obsessa per militiam Regis Franciæ. Cives vero, tanquam invalidi ad resistendum, cautelose finxerunt se velle reddere dictis Francis ; et apertis januis intromiserunt multos de Gallicis, et arma Regis Franciæ in turribus erexerunt. Quod videntes, tam qui intus erant, quam de foris, deposuerunt arma sua, civitatem captam, et iis redditam existimantes. Dominus O. de Ingham, miles nobilis, et custos dictæ Civitatis et terræ, subito cum magnâ manu irruiit super eos inermes, et cum civium adjutorio magnam eorum multitudinem interemit.*”

In 1342 the king sent commissioners to investigate a current report of improvident expenditure in the province, and with these Sir Oliver as Seneschal was associated. Two

distinct allegations formed the ground of enquiry—soldiers paid in excess of the names on the muster-roll, and neglect in branding the horses supplied to the cavalry.—[Rymer, July 20th, 1342.] The report of the commission is not before us, and conjecture might mislead us; we tread therefore on surer ground when we turn to the estimate which his sovereign formed of his services, as recorded in the Pipe Roll of the Exchequer, 28 Edward III. And this will not only introduce the alliance of the Inghams and Stapeltons, but will also prove incidentally the connection of Sir Miles Stapelton with the county of Berks, and will thus go far to establish his identity with the grantee of the original document,¹ of which we are to speak presently. In the Pipe Roll the king recognizes “good services done to him, as well by Sir Oliver de Ingham, while he lived, as by Sir Miles Stapelton, who married Joan, and therefore, *inter alia*, he specifically releases them of two marks, that they owed for the aid granted in the 20th of his reign, on the making of his eldest son (*i.e.*, the Black Prince) a Knight, for two parts of a Fee in Humpworth, Berks.”—[Blomefield’s *Norf.*]

Of all the shires of England, Berkshire has most enjoyed the presence of successive dynasties. At Wantage the kings of England once rocked their cradle: at Windsor is their palatial residence: at Wallingford was their fortified castrum. Its name, the Wall or Castle on the Ford, indicates its position; and in days when bridges were few and far between, its importance was excessive. Here, too, the king frequently elected to eat his Christmas dinner. In 1327, when Edward and Isabella had separate establishments, “*tenuit Regina natale Wallingfordiæ.*”—[Walsingham.] Thus the ballad—

“The king was in the parlour, counting out his money,
The queen was in the larder, eating bread and honey.”

¹ See Appendix A, at the end of this Paper.

It may reasonably admit of question whether the miserable Lancastrians, who were lingering out their captivity in the dungeons of the fortress, would much enjoy the sunshine of the royal countenance; but, on the other hand, the magnates of the land would cluster, as they could, around the prætoria; and after the Christmas revel, the proximity of a mass priest to receive a confession, and to confer absolution for foregone excesses, was a luxury if not a necessity. The endowment of a chantry chapel was therefore a project which the Stapeltons in their parish of North Morton had near their conscience; and the little village church had been made a typical example, and answered the double purpose of securing prayers for the living as well as masses for the dead.

The original endowment of the chantry was due, in the first instance, to a grandfather of the Norfolk Miles, of the same name with himself; summoned as a baron of parliament A.D. 1312, who had provided, before his fall at Bannockburn (8 Edw. II.), for every contingency which devotion might suggest in this particular. The Statute of Mortmain had just been enacted, as a check to all such pious extravagances; but a royal licence might override the statute; and Sir Miles (27 Edw. I., Appendix B.) had applied for one accordingly, to assign to the chapel of St. Nicholas a messuage, with a virgate of land and two acres of meadow, to two priests, to say mass daily. He had apparently even built the chapel, if not the church itself; for it stands to this day, a gem of Decorated architecture, corresponding to the above date. The traveller on the Great Western, after passing the Wallingford station, may obtain a glimpse of its exterior; and a brief delay on his journey would enable him to take note of its suggestive ground-plan and interior arrangements. Its window of five lights, as restored by Mr. Winston, 1856 (see *Archæological Journal*, xiii. 275, and xviii. 152), retains the greatest part of its

contemporary glazing, in which the legends of the saint form a conspicuous feature; and, in the head tracery above them, a fragment of the sable lion still lingers on his argent shield. The consecration of the chantry was concurrent with the revival of an old name in the family pedigree. From the days of Penrodas,² King of Cyprus, whose daughter the first Sir Miles had espoused in the Holy Land, the name of Milo, or Miles, had been a tradition in the family, and was not destined to expire with its possessor at Bannockburn; for his wife, the heiress of Bella Aqua or Bellew, had left him three sons, Nicholas, Gilbert, and John, and had added the manor of Carleton to his other broad lands. Although the more saintly name was preferred for the elder, a turn in the wheel of fortune, a few years later, brought Milo again uppermost; and although the Carleton manor had gone to another branch, a new order of succession was about to arise, and the old name of Miles was again to be duly honoured by generations of Norfolk Stapeltons, descendants of the younger son.

So now let us return to the three sons of the builder of the North Morton Chantry, whose names were respectively Nicholas, Gilbert, and John. They appear to have entered largely into the political conflicts of the unhappy times in which they lived; for in the Letters of Pardon (7 Edw. II.) granted to the Earl of Lancaster and his adherents, for the murder of Gaveston, we find no less than eight Stapeltons, and among them the three brothers of whom mention has just been made.—[Rymer, Oct. 16th, 1313.] Although Nicholas had given to his firstborn the old family name, it is with the younger, Gilbert, that we

² The marriage with Penrodas' daughter is more or less traditional (see Thoresby's *Leeds*); but when we read Hoveden's description of the marriage of King Richard and Berenguella in the Isle of Cyprus, it appears more than probable that one at least of his followers might imitate his example.

are now specially concerned ; for he, too, had a son named Miles ; and seeing that there are two Milos, first cousins, in the field, it becomes important to ascertain which of them it was "who married Joan," and therefore which of them it was, not only who made addition to the previous endowment of his grandfather, but who also, when he settled in Norfolk, rebuilt our Ingham Church. The question will be set at rest by referring to the *Inquis. ad quod damnum* (Appendix C.) printed, we believe for the first time, at the foot of our memoir ; wherein we note especially the words "Miloni de Stapelton de Bedale et Johanne uxori ejus." And as Miles, the son of Gilbert, inherited through his mother, Agnes Fitz Alan of Bedale, we identify him with Miles to whom licence was granted (23 Edw. III., Appendix A.) to confer an additional endowment on the chantry which his grandfather had built.

We say an *additional* endowment ; but, after all, a question may arise whether the younger Milo was doing anything more than carry out the intention of his grandfather ; for a reference to the inquisitor's return (Appendix B.) may raise a suspicion that a licence from Edward I. could not be granted during the lifetime of a widow of De Valence, under whom the manor was held. It was petitioned for "a virgate of land and two acres of meadow ;" and if the virgate was equivalent to twenty acres, then the subsequent licence to endow North Morton Chapel with "viginti et duas acras," (Appendix A.) may merely signify the removal of the obstacle which the former inquisitors had notified.

Whether it were so or not is a matter of small moment, for the chantry in due course was built and endowed at North Morton, and formed but a prelude to the larger foundation at Ingham, eleven years later (34 Edw. III.) ; and we trace in the form and circumstance of the several endowments the spirit of the old crusaders, which animated the Stapelton family. Their crest, a Saracen's head coupé,

was not without significance. It recorded a deed of arms, dating back probably to the days of Cœur de Lion, enacted, as tradition said, under the eyes of three sovereigns. And the little Chantry of St. Nicholas at North Morton bore indirect reference to the same stirring times. The ghastly remains of Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, had been just torn from their cerements, and were claimed by citizens of Bari as a trophy won from the Infidel. The Venetians, not to be outdone, had rifled another sepulchre, and transferred to their own shores a spurious St. Nicholas, and erected a rival shrine.—[Alban Butler.] Hence the legends of the saint became dear to crusaders: hence the dedication of the chapel at North Morton: and hence the college or priory of the Order of the Holy Trinity, attached as an appendage to Ingham parish church.

At the close of the preceding century (1197) the Order of Trinitarians or Maturins had been instituted in France, and speedily reached England, where the first house of the order was founded at Mottenden in Kent. Their rule, confirmed by Innocent III., exhibits some peculiarities, among which a studious preference for the number three stands conspicuous. Thus, one-third of their income was to be religiously devoted to the redemption of captives taken by the Turks; and their red and blue cross, conspicuous on a white ground, connected them visibly with the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, whose revenues, on its suppression, they enjoyed. Tanner mentions a tradition, and it seems nothing more, that their head house was at Ingham, "as long as that house was of the order, and from thence called the Order of Ingham." And Taylor, in his *Index Monasticus*, supposes that the founder changed his college into a priory soon after its foundation. The tone of these extracts indicates a slight halo of uncertainty, through which the highest authorities do not see their way clearly. This probably arises from the phrase "Prior, minister, seu

custos," in Bishop Percy's Ordinance of Foundation; but the words were studiously framed to meet the rule of the Trinitarians. Custos belongs strictly to a college rather than a priory; for Tanner defines a college as a "house of secular canons under government of a warden, and having chaplains belonging to them." On the other hand, the rule of the Trinitarians defines very strictly the title of their chief. Thus, rule 1, "Fratres sub obedientiâ Prælati Domus, qui *minister* vocabitur." And again, rule 3, "Fratres possunt esse in unâ cohabitatione, tres Clerici et tres Laici; et præterea unus, qui non Procurator, sed *minister* nominatur." Hence, apparently, the adoption of the three terms in the Ordinance, of which a short abstract will not be out of place.

After a turgid preamble, not unusual in such documents, it recites the petition of Sir Miles for a college of Regulars of the order of the Holy Trinity and rule of St. Victor: "quorum Unus sit Prior, Minister, seu *Custos* et Caput ipsius Collegii, et curam animarum personarum ejusdem habeat." Another was to be the sacrist of the church, and to have cure of souls of the parishioners. The bishop proceeds to give reasons for assenting to this arrangement. He has observed, he says, in his diocese that some secular rectors, confining themselves exclusively to the performance of divine services [dñorꝝ (*sic*) obsequiis insistentes,³] or else

³ Divinorum obsequiis insistentes. The mediæval usage of the word is strictly confined by Du Cange to the sense of funeral obsequies, which must therefore be adhered to, altogether excluding the Ciceronian "omnia ei obsequia polliceor." The extravagant demand for obituary masses could not fail to be felt as a pressure on the purses of the laity, and a tax on the time of the clergy. Sir Miles had lately paid for a costly ceremonial, in which "funeral bak'd meats" and processional wax tapers must have formed a considerable item; and therefore he might be inclined to welcome the above new provisions. For obsequium as equivalent to *largeia*, see John xvi. 2 and Rom. ix. 4. —[Vulg. Trans.] "Omnis qui interficit vos arbitratur obsequium se præstare Deo."—John xvi. 2. "Legislatio, obsequium, et promissa."—Rom. ix. 4.

to literary pursuits, had resigned the care of their parishes to hired chaplains, mercenaries rather than shepherds. In view therefore of the sumptuous church which the said Milo had completed, with its cemetery, its tower, its bells, &c., he had already accepted the resignation of John Baynton, the late rector; and, in full chapter, erected the church of Ingham into a collegiate establishment of Regulars, over which, on the presentation of Sir Miles aforesaid, he appointed Richard de Marleberge prior or minister, John de Pevesey sacrist, and John de Osprynge professed brother of the Order of the Holy Trinity and Captives. Having alluded to an expected augmentation of the revenue of the college, he provides for a proportionate augmentation in the number of the brethren; and specifies certain masses for the living and for the dead. The former, in due order, are thus enumerated: "*pro salubrem statum Dñi Milonis de Stapilton et Johannæ suæ conjugis, et Dñi Edwardi Regis Angl. inclitissimi, Dñi Edwardi Principis Walliæ, Dñi Henrici Ducis Lancastriæ, Dñi Thomas Episcopi Norvic, Dñi Brionis de Stapiltone, Militis, Dnæ Aliciæ suæ conjugis, Dñi Milonis de Stapiltone de Hatheseeye, militis, Johannis Boys, Rogeri fratris ejus, Magistri Paurenay de Thornhill, Clerici, Willm̃i de Hemeleseeye, Katharinæ uxoris ejus, Reginaldi de Eccles, Magistri Johannis de Sech, Clerici, Magistri Willm̃i de Blythe, Clerici, et Magistri Johannis de Carleton, Clerici, dum egerint in humanis.*" The souls of deceased ancestors furnish a smaller catalogue, viz., "*animabusq. Scõrum Dñi quondam Gilberti de Stapiltone, Dñæ Agnetis suæ conjugis, patris et matris dicti Dñi Milonis, Dñi Oliveri de Ingham, Dñæ Elizabeth consortis suæ, Dñi Nicholai de Stapiltone, Dñæ Katharinæ Boys, defunctorum.*" The ordinance provides, finally, for a certain number of lights at the altars of the Holy Trinity and of the Virgin Mary, with antiphonal services, which are thus to be concluded: "*quibus expletis, sonitum fieri faciant quinquies de Campanâ, et*

quilibet eorum dicat quinquies orationem Dominicam sub silentio, cum Salutatione Angelicâ subsequente, ac 'De Profundis,' publicè in communi, cum aliquibus orationibus defunctorum; unusque ipsorum aquâ benedictâ se et ceteros aspergat." Attention may be directed to the genealogical part of the above ordinance, extracted in the words of the original. They will go far, it is hoped, to clear up the ambiguity of Blomefield, and to correct the more misleading errors of Betham.

Of all the monastic buildings a very small portion even of the foundations remains. Their extent must have been considerable, for two years later (36 Edw. III., *Inq. ad quod damnum*) another acre was conveyed to the prior and convent "in elargacionem mansi sui." Connected perhaps with which transaction was the diversion of the present road: "Prior S^ce Trinitatis de Ingham dat dimid^o marc^o p^o li^o includendi quondam viam in Ingham hend^o in elargacōem mansi sui ibidem."—[Ro. 27.] A small cloister may be traced in the remains of three arches, parallel and very contiguous to the north wall of the church, from which communication may have been had. A very large gravel pit has obliterated the remainder.

At the opening of the next century, the guild of St. John Baptist became of sufficient importance to obtain from the See of Norwich a second declaratory ordinance, by which we ascertain that Sir Brian, grandson of Miles, did not stand alone as a liberal benefactor: "devocione et affectu missarum celebrandarum ac luminum in cancello."—[Ord. Johannis Ep. Norvic. 1422.] This document specifies:—

"Decem acras terræ in Ingham vocatas Capones Toft

Una acra terræ liberæ adjacente quondam Beatricis Capon

Una pecia terræ in West Croft nuper Oliveri Robert

Duæ peciæ quondam Johannis Bubbyng

Una roda terræ nativæ de domo Glovers

Una acra terræ nativæ de tenemento Holton,"

besides gifts in money from Sir Brian and Oliver Robert, by which a "*cereum duplex pro vivis et defunctis*" was provided in perpetuum, and a "*torchia in magno choro ecclesiæ*," after the decease of Oliver and his wife Sybilla.

For several successive generations the family mansion at Ingham (the site of which can still be identified) was tenanted by Stapeltons, who, by deeds of arms and alliances, sustained the reputation of their house. Particulars are given in the Pedigree, which I owe to the careful research of Mr. Chetwynd-Stapylton of Shenley Lodge, Herts, who confirms its accuracy by an appeal to existing documents in his possession; and who represents the Stapeltons of Wighill, as Lord Beaumont does the Stapeltons of Carleton. The branch with which we are concerned ended in two sisters, the elder of whom, Elizabeth, was the second wife of Sir William Calthorp, who died 1494, for whose will see Blomefield, iii. 718. By this marriage his descendant, the builder of Thorpland Hall, was entitled to the lion rampant, which has weathered many a storm, and continues, in moulded brick of the Elizabethan period, to adorn the lofty chimneys of the writer of this memoir, and overlook the valley of the Stiffkey.

The monument of Sir Oliver Ingham demands a separate notice, which has been kindly contributed, in memory of Rugbæan fellowship, by Matthew Holbeche Bloxam. (Appendix D) In its niche, as time has left it, it survives every vicissitude, whether of spoliation or restoration, which has taken place around it. It stands, "*ære perennius*," having witnessed the splendour and mutilation of the series of sepulchral brasses which once represented the costume and recorded the alliances of the Stapeltons. They were sold as old metal in 1799, when the faculty to remove "a building with a Gothic window against the south aisle" was obtained. This was probably a chantry chapel, of which one or more of

the brasses may have formed the pavement: and although (says Cotman) it was "commonly reported by whom they were sold and bought, yet nobody sought to recover them;" and had it not been for the rubbings of the Rev. Thomas Talbot, then a schoolboy at North Walsham Grammar School, and afterwards Rector of Tivetshall, their memorial would have perished with them. To describe them in extenso would far exceed our limits; but one exception must be made in favour of the founder, who, in somewhat sentimental attitude (like Sir John de la Pole at Chrishall, Essex, or Sir J. Harsyck at Southacre) holds his lady by her right hand. The rivets which connect the camail to the head-piece of the basinet of the knight are well represented, as also the attachment of the plate and chain armour in the vambraces. The hauberk, or coat of mail, is seen below the cuir bouilli jerkin, which is studded on its surface and escallopped on its lower edge. The cuisses are composed of bands of studded leather arranged longitudinally.—See *Archæological Journal*, ii. 219. The garter might properly have appeared, as in the brass of Sir Simon Felbrig, but it is altogether wanting. The inscription ran thus:—

"PRIEZ POVR LES ALMES MONSEVR MILES DE STAPLETON ET DAME
IOHANNE SA FEMME FILLE DE MONSEVR OLIVER DE INGHAM FONDEVRS
DE CETTE MAISON QE DIEV DE LOVR ALMES EIT PITEE."

In him we realize the appearance of a knight who fought at Cressy (1347), or, perhaps, as he appeared (1343) in the tournament held at Windsor. This period was one of the most glorious in England's history, and Sir Miles, having won his spurs in the early part of it, did not rest upon his laurels; nor even in the Treaty of Bretigny, as one of its commissioners (1360) did he see the end of the conflict, for in 1361 and 1364 he was again in the wars of France.

At the risk of slight repetition, the following sketch of his life is given in the words of his descendant, to whom I am also indebted for the subjoined Stapelton Pedigree.

"Sir Milez de Stapulton, prm. fnd., first founder of the Garter, as he is called on the Garter Plate in St. George's Chapel at Windsor (see Beltz's *Memorials* for a sketch of it) was only eight years old at his father's death in 1328-9. He is usually called of Ingham, or Bedale, or Cotherstone, to distinguish him from his cousin, Sir Miles of Hathelsey.

"His military career commenced in the expedition of Edward III. into Brittany (1342), and he had letters of protection as Milo de S. de Cotherstone, in 1345, going abroad with John D'Arcy.—[*Rot. Franc.*, 16 Edward III., and 20 Edward III., and Rymer.] The following year (1346), says Dugdale, attending the king into France, he was at the battle of Cressy and at the siege of Calais.—[*Rot. Franc.*, 20 Edward III.] In 1349 he was again in the wars of France.—[*Rot. Franc.*, 23 Edw. III.]

"On his return to England, King Edward held a festival for instituting an order of knighthood, and Sir Miles was one of the first knights, set. 30. He bore for his arms a lion rampant, surcharged on the breast with a mullet, gules, denoting the third house.—[*Willement Roll.*]

"In 1355 he was, under the designation of Dñs de Ingham et de Bedale, (being again married) one of the commissioners, with Sir Miles of Hathelsey and others, to propose for the arbitration of the Pope certain matters in dispute between France and England."—[*Rot. Franc.* and Rymer.]

"He was probably not at Poitiers, for in that year (1356) when Philip, brother of the King of Navarre, came to England to obtain help for the recovery of his lands in Normandy, being an expert soldier, he was sent with him. Whereupon they passed through that country with 2000 men, and took and burned several towns and strongholds, till they came within nine leagues of Paris, and returned not till they had compelled the French into a truce for one whole year (Dugdale's *Baronage* quoting

Froissart), and having served in the wars with great fidelity and courage, he obtained a grant for an annuity of £100, to be paid out of the king's exchequer.—[Dugdale, *Rot. Pat.*, 24 Edward III.] Two years later he had 50 pounds in money for going as king's messenger to Normandy.—[Devon's *Issues*, 169.]

"Sir Miles married, first, Isolda, by whom he had one son John, who ob. s.p., and secondly, Joan, widow of Lord Strange of Knockyn, and daughter and coheir (and eventually sole heir) of Sir O. de Ingham. Sir Oliver's eldest daughter died before him, leaving by John de Curson a daughter Mary, aged nine years, who in the 18th year of Edward III, had a moiety of all the manors of her grandfather. She died 23 Edward III., when her aunt Joan Stapelton came to her inheritance.—[Blomefield's *Norfolk*.]

"In the 24th and 25th Edward III. (1350) Sir Miles and Joan settled by fine the manor of Weybrede, co. Suff.; the manors of Ingham, Waxtonesham, Horsey, and Stinton, co. Norf.; Codeford and Hampworth, and half the manors of Langford, Dene and Grymsted, on themselves and their heirs; remainder to John, the son of Miles by his first wife Isolda.—[*Ped. Fin. Record Office*.] In the 28 Edw. III. (perhaps on the death of John) Sir Miles and Joan made a further settlement of the manor of Cotherston and the moiety of the manors of Bedale and Askham Brian, and of the advowson of the church of Bedale, and the manor of North Morton, on themselves and their heirs male; remainder to Sir Brian, brother of Sir Miles, and his heirs; remainder to Sir Miles of Hathelsey and his heirs male; remainder to the right heirs of Sir Miles of Ingham.—[*Ped. Fin. Record Off.*] On the death of Sir Miles' great-grandson without issue male, in 1466, the last entail took effect, and the properties went to the elder branch of the descendants of Sir Brian of Wighill and Carlton. Bedale still belongs to Lord Beaumont.

"On Feb. 3rd, 1364, less than a year before the death of Sir Miles at Ingham, he was party to the following—Concord of fine between Milo de Stapelton of Hathelsay, chivaler, and others, complainants, and Milo de Stapelton of Bedale, deforciant, of the manors of Ingham and Waxtonesham, co. Norf., and Bedale and Cotherstone, co. Ebor., and North Morton, co. Berks, whereupon, &c., the said Milo de Stapelton of Bedale acknowledged the aforesaid properties to be the right of Milo de Stapelton of Hathelsay, Sir Brian and the others, on condition of a yearly payment of £500 sterling to Milo de Stapelton of Bedale during his life, and a rose yearly during the life of his widow; the lands to revert on Sir Miles of Hathelsay's death to Sir Miles of Bedale and his heirs.—[*Fines* 38 Edw. III. Record Office.] The will of Sir Miles of Hathelsay (1372) may be read in Surtees' *Test. Ebor.*, and, after his death, the Ingham manors reverted accordingly to the rightful owners without incumbrance."

Sir Miles de Stapylton (so spelt in his will) [*Norf. Arch.* iv. 321] was a minor at his father's death, and the custody of his lands was granted to the queen, who afterwards granted it to Sir Brian of Wighill and Sir Roger de Bois. He married Ela, daughter of Sir Edmund Ufford, brother of Robert, Earl of Suffolk.—(For Pedigree of Ufford see Nicholls' *Top. and Genealog.*) In 1401 he was one of the knights of Norfolk and Suffolk summoned to attend a council at Westminster, the next day after the Assumption, and again in 1403.—[*Nicolas' Proceed. of Council.*] His brass in Gough's time (see Cotman) was in too fragmentary a state to be represented. It was thus inscribed:

ICY GIST MONSEVR MILES DE STAPLETON FILS AL FONDEVR
DE CESTE MESON ET DAME ELA SA COMPAGNE AVXI DIEV DE
LEVERS ALMES EIT MERCI.

He died 1419. Will dated 1414.

Sir Brian Stapulton, or Stapylton, spelt both ways in

his will, [*Norf. Archæol.* iv.] was forty years of age at his father's death in 1419. He married Cecilia, daughter of William, Lord Bardolf, by Agnes, daughter of Sir M. Poynings; whose brother, the last Lord Bardolf of Wermegay, met so tragical an end as a Yorkist, in the wars of the Roses.

A muster-roll taken at Wallopforth, near Southampton, in July, 1417, just before the second expedition of Henry V. into France, has the name of Brianus Stapulton, "with twenty launces and forty-nine archers" in the retinue of Lord Willoughby d'Eresby [*Gest. Henrici V.* p. 268] and he probably followed the fortunes of Lord Willoughby, till taken prisoner. We learn from the *Proceedings of Council* (Sir H. Nicolas, 3 Hen. VI.) "Brian Stapilton, Chivaler, having by fortune of war been taken prisoner in France, in the service of our father the King, and having been imprisoned five years or fined three thousand marks, to the impoverishing of his estate, and having, since his return to England, married his eldest son and heir; we have therefore granted him the manors of Langford and Codeford, and the manor of Dene, in Wilts, that he may give and assign to Miles, his eldest son, and Elizabeth, his wife, the said manors, to have and to hold, &c." Among the Harleian Charters (iii. B. 7) there is a bond for twelve hundred crowns, lent by the wealthy Sir John Fastolf to Brian "Stabileton," which, we may fairly suppose, provided part of the above ransom. In 1436 he had confirmed to him by the king a fair at his manor of Wascovesham (Waxham) which had been granted to Oliver Ingham, 38 Hen. III.—[*Calend. Rot. Pat.* 14 Hen. VI.] Sir Brian was Sheriff of Norfolk, 1424, and died a widower in 1438, leaving two sons, Miles and Brian, and one daughter. His monument in Ingham church was a brass richly canopied, of which only the indent remains. The knight is represented in Cotman

in entire plate armour with goussettes and flaps to the cuirass; and the lady in the mitred head-dress. The name of his dog "JAKKE" is immortalized on his label.

Of his elder son, Sir Miles, we shall say more presently; but meantime we may dismiss the second, who was lieutenant of the Duke of Exeter, 1443,—[*Black Book of the Admiralty*, p. 253, Record Off. series; see also *Harl. MSS.*, 971;] and his daughter Anne, who married Thomas Heath, of Hengrave, Suffolk. This son and daughter are remembered in his last will, wherein he leaves to "Brian my younger son, and Isabel his wife, £20 per annum for their joint lives to be provided out of Cotherston—provided that the marriage silver of my daughter Anne and my own debts and exactions be first satisfied."

To his elder son Miles he left his goods and chattels and jewels and all his stuff of household and husbandry; and all his swans and cygnets at Ingham of the new mark as well as of the old.

Sir Miles Stapulton (so spelt in his will, 1442, and in a nuncupative codicil, 1466, Appendix E.) did homage of his lands, 2nd Feb. 1440.—[*Fines* 18 Hen. VI., Gibbons' Collection.] He seems to have been in the wars of France, for 22nd June, 1436-7, he is given "safe conduct" for his seven prisoners passing into Flanders, "pro finantiis suis," probably to get money for their ransoms.—[*Catalogue of French Rolls*, 2, 291.] And again in 1441.—[P. 307.] In 1442 he "keeps the sea" with the fleet.—[*Proceedings of Council*.]

4th March, 1443. The King's council ordered letters of thanks to be made out to the Duke of Norfolk, William Calthorp, Miles Stapilton, Thomas Brews, "Sherrief," Brian Stapilton, and others, "for their diligence in finding out the rioters and misdoers at Norwich," when the town had been a scene of confusion in consequence of the Prior of Christ Church at Norwich having imposed some new customs, and

the citizens rose in great force and threatened to set fire to the priory. Chief Justice Fortescue was sent down to try the prisoners.—[*Nicolas' Proceedings of Council*, vol. iv.] Sir Miles was also the Duke of Exeter's Commissary in Norfolk in 1443, and his brother Brian his Lieutenant. In 1454 Bryan Stapilton, John Melton, and Thomas Rempston, Knights, had orders to attend upon the Duke when he was taken prisoner to Pontefract.—[*Nicolas' Proceed.* vi. 218.] Miles Stapleton and Thomas Tuddenham were summoned as knights for Norfolk to attend the council.—[Vol. vi., *Preface* xxxv. and p. 340.]

His will was proved at Hoxne, January 18th, 1466, by commission from Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, together with a nuncupative codicil suggestive of the main source from which the subsequent expenditure on the tower of Ingham church was ultimately derived. Some peculiarities in the use of the seal of the archdeacon are noticeable in this document.

The indent of his brass at Ingham [see Cotman's *Norfolk Brasses*] may still be recognized by the two wives, and once carried the inscription:—

ORATE PRO AIA DNI MILONIS STAPLETON MILITIS
FILII DNI BRIANI STAPLETON FILII DNI MILONIS
STAPLETON FILII DNI MILONIS STAPLETON MILITIS
FVNDATORIS EOOLIE HVIVS QVI OBIT DIE OCTOBRIS
MOCCOLXVI ET P AIA DNE KATHERINE FILIE DNI
THOME DE LA POLE MILITIS FILII MICHAELIS NVP COMITIS
SUFF ET ELISABETHE FILIE SIMONIS FELBRIGG MILITIS
CONSORTIVM PRIME PMISSI DNI MILONIS.

On the stone were Stapelton impaling De la Pole, Azure, on a fess between three leopards' faces or, a mullet sable; Stapelton impaling Felbrigg, Or, a lion salient gules; Stapelton and Ufford; Stapelton and Bardolf. One of the best records of this, the last of the Stapeltons, may be studied as yet surviving in the existing bell tower, which

has superseded the tower of Sir Miles the founder. Above its west doorway is a band of sunk quatrefoils, in which at intervals are introduced armorial bearings. Among them, in the centre, Stapelton impaling De la Pole. On the left a shield with four coats per pale, viz., 1, Stapelton; 2, De la Pole; 3, Stapelton; 4, Felbrig. Although Sir Miles died in 1466, the building of the tower was not proceeded with immediately; for in the will of Roger King, Rector of Sutton, made 1488, and proved at Norwich in the year following, we find among other bequests, "Item, lego ad edificationem Campanile de Ingham vi^a. viij^a."

The only remaining notice of the Calthorpes in the church is a brass plate inscribed "Preces fundite pro aīe dñe Elizabeth Calthorpe nuḡ dñi Francisci Calthorpe consortis qui obiit a^o dñi m^oxxxxvi die mensis Julii 23, cujus aīe ppiciet Deus.

In our sketch of the monumental records, existent or recoverable, we have hitherto confined ourselves to those of the direct line. But the altar tomb of Sir Roger Boys or de Bosco, whose relative, John Boys of Coningsby, married the founder's sister, is coeval with the fabric of the church, and is figured in Stothard. Upon it the recumbent effigies of Sir Roger and the Lady Margaret are habited in the long sleeveless mantle, the distinctive garb of knighthood in time of peace. The mantle of the knight is confined in front by the cordon and tassels, and his head reposes on his "grand heaume," which has been mistaken for the body of a Saracen, in consequence of the Saracen's head adopted as its cognizance. The base of the tomb was once enriched with heraldic and sacred devices. Two aīgels present to the Deity the souls of Sir Roger and Lady Margarete; and originally the arms of Boys—Argent, two bars and a canton, gules; over all a fillet, sable—were seen by Blomefield, together with those of Cromwell, Stapelton, Gimmingham, and Wigmore. It will be observed that this

coat—Boys of Lincolnshire—differs from the coat of a family of that name in Kent [Guillim, p. 193] and also from that of Boys of Fersfield.—[Blomefield.] To the right shoulder of each mantle is affixed a peculiar badge, consisting of the Tau cross, or crutch of St. Anthony inclosed within a circle, which contains also, above the cross, a few letters now illegible, but which Stothard, (A.D. 1817) following the earlier engraving by Basire (A.D. 1797) could read as the word ANTHON in uncial characters. We are met by this difficulty, that the order of St. Anthony, with the badge of the Tau cross and bell, was not instituted till 1382 by Albert of Bavaria, on an expedition against the Moors, more than fifty years subsequent to the death of Sir Roger. It was, however, adopted at this period, sometimes on slender authority, *e.g.*, by the Drurys of Hawstead, as an augmentation to their family arms; but on the other hand, the use of it as connected with the legend of St. Anthony comes down from a remote period.

In explaining this device heraldically, as it appears in the case before us, we must only look at it with the eyes of Guillim and his continuator, who, in his *Treatise of Honour*, tells us, that "A.D. 370, John, Emperor of Æthiopia, vulgarly called Prester John, erected into a religious order of knighthood certain monks, who, after the example of St. Anthony, lived a solitary life, received the rule of St. Basil, and for their ensign a blue cross in the form of the letter T. Their vow is to defend the Christian religion; not to marry without licence from the abbot; and into this order the eldest sons of noblemen or gentlemen cannot be admitted, &c.," p. 149.

Now, whatever may be thought of Prester John and his locality,—dismissing the manifest anachronism involved in the above extract, and the genuineness of his celebrated epistle to Pope Alexander III., and even conceding to Gibbon that his existence is a "monstrous fable,"—his heraldic

connexion with the Tau cross points clearly to *Æthiopia*. The Egyptian symbol of life, the *Crux Ansata*, would naturally be adopted by the Christians of Africa, and by getting rid of the Ansa it was not only brought to a sufficient resemblance to the Cross of Calvary, but also to the initial letter of the word *THEOS*, or to the top of the crutch of St. Anthony, the wonder-working hermit. The heraldic *Presbyter Johannes* accordingly takes his place among the griffons and mermaids of blazonry; and in the escutcheon of the See of Chichester the transverse arms of the cross have curiously diverged into a sword held horizontally in the mouth of the presbyter.

The care of a well-known collector, the late Mr. Dawson Turner, has preserved to us some fragments of panel painting of the fourteenth century, which were discovered in Ingham church in 1783. The drawings were communicated by Sir John Fenn to Mr. Carter, from the originals in his possession, with the following remark: "These strange figures may exercise the fertile invention of an antiquary to develop them." Happily the task is easy, and by the courtesy of the British Museum we are enabled to transfer them to our pages, from the illustrations to Mr. Dawson Turner's edition of Blomefield's *Norfolk*.

No. I. The Consecration of St. Nicholas. The legend informs us that on his return from the Holy Land the consecration was forced upon him, "*plurimum renitentem*," by the people of Myra, whose choice was miraculously confirmed. He was venerated as the patron of the distressed, the weak, and the unfortunate, and of children and penitents generally; also of sailors. He stands upon a dais behind which two acolytes are holding the croziers of the two consecrating bishops. Two females are introduced as witnessing the ceremony. One, in the wimple, unveiled, but with covered head. The other, with long tresses, which she exhibits either as an attraction, or as if about to tear her

hair in token of her penitence. Some slight variation in the costume of the bishops may be laid to the charge of the copyist who made the drawings from the original panel. Each painting represents two compartments, which may possibly have been transposed in the process of re-adjustment. On the lower compartment, the female with the long hair reappears, holding a girl in a caldron, from beneath which flames issue, and the heads of demons. Behind the female is a boy with one arm elevated and pointing upwards. In the clouds a mitred figure encourages the sufferer. The allegorical intention of this panel will be best understood by taking it in connexion with

No. II., of which the upper compartment represents the best known incident in the life of the saint. Followed by an acolyte he stands at the door of a house, through which he scatters a handful of money before the three daughters of the nobleman, who had resolved on a life of infamy to support their aged parents in their reduced circumstances. The nobleman rises from his bed in an attitude expressive of gratitude to his unknown benefactor. Above the acolyte, in the clouds, are three angels. This subject, it will be remembered, was conspicuous in the east window, which was placed by Sir Miles the founder in his chantry at North Morton. In the lower compartment, St. Nicholas, on the deck of a sinking vessel, calms the violence of a tempest, as the friend of the distressed mariner.

No. III. The upper part of this panel is intended as an allegorical contrast to the act of mercy portrayed in No. II. An assassin is represented in the act of murdering three females lying in a bed. A female accomplice holds a candle; and other females are escaping with plunder. On the lower compartment are two mitred ecclesiastics (probably the same individual, St. Nicholas himself) on the one hand addressing himself to three females standing in a tub, or baptismal font. They are without clothing, except

the head-dress. On the other hand, the second bishop is addressing himself to a man, apparently the murderer.

It is gratifying to be able to add that the reparation of this interesting church has been effected at considerable expense by the present incumbent, the Rev. N. Wilson, with a due regard to the conservation of what remains, rather than by a doubtful process of questionable restoration of the Ingham and Boys monuments.

APPENDIX A.

Licence to endow Chantry, 23 Edw. III. (Cart. orig. penes Auct.)

Edwardus dei grā Rex Angl̃ ⁊ Franc̃ ⁊ Dominus Hibnie omibꝫ ad quos p̃sentes lre pervenerint salutem Licet de cōi consilio regni ñre Angl̃ statutum sit, qđ non liceat viris religiosis seu aliis ingredi feodum alicujus ita qđ ad manum mortuam deveniat sine licencia ñra & capitalis Dñi de quo res illa immediate tenet̃. Volentes tamen dilecto & fideli ñro Miloni de Stapelton grām facere specialem. Concessimus et licenciam dedimus pro nobis & heredibꝫ ñris quantum in nobis est eid̃ Miloni qđ ipse viginti & duas acras lre cum p̃tin in Northmorton dare possit et assignare cuidam Capellano divina singulis diebꝫ in Capellā de Northmorton juxta ordinacionem ipsius Milonis in hac p̃fe faciendam celebraturo Habend̃ ⁊ tenend̃ eidem Capellano ⁊ successoribus suis divina singulis diebus in capellā p̃dictā juxta ordinacionem p̃dicam celebraturo in auxilium sustentationis suæ in p̃petuum. Et eidem Capellano qđ ipse terram p̃dictam cum pertiñ a p̃fato Milone recipere possit ⁊ tenere sibi et successoribꝫ suis p̃dcis in perpetuum sicut p̃dictū est tenore p̃sentium similiter licenciam dedimus sp̃alem Statuto p̃d̃co non obstante. Nolentes qđ p̃dictus Milo vel heredes sui aut prefatus Capellanus seu successores sui p̃redicti ratione statuti p̃dicti per nos vel heredes nostros inde occasionentur in aliquo seu graventur. Salvis tamen capitalibus Dominis feodi illius serviciis inde debitis ⁊ consuetis. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ip̃o apud Wodestok quartodecimo die Maii, Anno regni h̃ri Angl̃ vicesimo tercio regni vero nostri franc̃ decimo.

p breve de privato Sigillo.

The above Licence is sealed with the Great Seal of Presence which Edward brought with him from abroad, on the 30th of November, 1340 (13 Edw. III.), and commanded that it should be used henceforth in England, —see Willis, seal F., *Archæological Journal*, ii., p. 25. It is engraved by Sandford, *Genealogical History of Kings of England*.

APPENDIX B.

Inq. ad quod dampnum. 27 Edw. I. (Record Off).

Inquisitio capta coram Escaetorem in pleno Comitatu Berks xvj die Martii anno regni Regis Edwardi xxvij per sacramentum Mansueſ de Morton Adam le Mouner Willm de Cruthe, — de la Forteye, Robert le Baliol, et Stephm le Clerk, Juratorum si sit ad dampnum vel prejudicium Domini Regis aut aliorum si Dominus Rex concedat Miloni de Stapelton quod ipse unum messuagium unam virgatam terræ et duas acras prati cum pertinentiis in North Morton dare possit et assignare duobus Capellanis divina celebraturis singulis diebus in capellā S. Nicholai de North Morton. Habendum et tenendum eisdem Capellanis et successoribus suis, &c., &c.

Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod non est ad prejudicium Domini Regis aut aliorum si Dominus Rex concedat prædicto Miloni quod ipse dare possit prædictum messuagium terras et pratum in formā prædictā nisi tantum Dominæ Johannæ quæ fuit uxor Wm de Valence de quā messuagium terra et pratum tenentur simul cum aliis (illis?) tenementis in prædictā villā de North Morton per servitium unius feodi militis et sic esset ad dampnum et prejudicium præfatæ Johannæ si escaeta aut custodia inde acciderit et ad dampnum Domini Regis eodem modo si custodiam de

custodiā habuerit quam præfata Johanna præfati feodi simul cum aliis feodis Domino Rege tenet in capite.

Dicunt etiam super sacramentum suum quod prædictum messuagium valet per annum xij*l*. in omnibus exitibus et prædicta virgata terræ valet per annum in omnibus exitibus *xxs.*, et prædictum pratum valet per annum in omnibus exitibus *ivs.* Dicunt etiam quod terræ et tenementa quæ sibi remaneant ultra donationem et assignationem prædictas in prædictā villā de North Morton valent per annum decem et novem libras et sufficiunt ad omnia onera sustinenda et cetera in brevi contenta facienda ita quod patria per donationem et assignationem prædictas majis solito non potest onerari seu gravari. In cujus rei, &c.

APPENDIX C.

Inq. ad q. d. 34 Edw. III. (Record Off).

Edwardus Dei gratiā Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ Dilecto Rogero de Wolfreton Escætori suo in Com̃ Norff. Salutem. Precipimus tibi quod per sacra*m* proborum et legalium hominum de ballivā tuā per quos rei veritas melius sciri possit diligenter inquiras si sit ad dampnum vel prejudicium nostrum aut aliorum si concedamus Miloni de Stapelton de Bedale Chivaler et Johannæ uxori ejus quod ipsi quintam partem manerii de Stalham-halle cum pertinentiis dare possint et assignare cuidam custodi et duobus Capellanis Cantariæ S. Trinitatis in ecclesiā parochiali de Ingham per ipsum Milonem de novo fundanda divina pro salubrem statum ipsorum Milonis et Johannæ dum vixerint et pro animabus suis cum ab hac luce migraverint et pro animabus antecessorum eorundem Milonis et Johannæ et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum in ecclesia prædictā singulis diebus juxta ordinacionem in hac parte faciendam

celebraturis. Habendum et tenendum eisdem Custodi et capellanis et successoribus suis Custodibus et Capellanis divina ibidem sicut prædictum est singulis diebus celebraturis in perpetuum necne. Et si sit ad dampnum vel prejudicium nostrum aut aliorum tunc ad quod dampnum et quod prejudicium nostrum et ad quod dampnum et ad quod prejudicium aliorum et quorum et qualiter et quomodo et de quo vel de quibus predicta quinta pars tenetur et per quod servitium et qualiter et quomodo et quantum valet per annum in annualibus exitibus juxta verum valorem ejusdem et qui et quot sunt medii inter nos et præfatos Milonem et Johannam de quintâ parte prædictâ et quæ terræ et quæ tenementa eisdem Miloni et Johannæ remaneant ultra donationem et assignationem prædictas et ubi et de quo vel de quibus tenentur et per quod servitium et qualiter et quomodo et quantum valeant per annum in annualibus exitibus. Et si terræ et tenementa eisdem Miloni et Johannæ remanentia ultra donationem et assignacionem prædictas sufficiant ad consuetudines et servicia tam de prædictâ parte sic datâ quam de aliis terris et tenementis sibi retentis debita facienda et ad omnia alia onera quæ sustinent et sustinere consueverint ut in saccis visibus franci plegii auxiliis tallagiis vigiliis finibus redemptionibus amerciamendis contributionibus et aliis quibuscunq; oneribus emergentibus sustinendis. Et quod idem Milo in assisis juratis et aliis recognitionibus quibuscunque poni possit prout ante donationem et assignacionem prædictas fieri consueverint. Ita quod patria per donationem et assignacionem prædictas in ipsius Milonis defectum magis solito non oneretur seu gravetur. Et inquisitionem inde distincté et apté factam nobis sub sigillo tuo et sigillis eorum per quos facta fuerit sine dilatione mittas et hoc breve. Teste me ipso apud Cestrum xxi die Maii anno regni nostri Angl. xxxiv regni vero Franc. xxi.

Inquis. capta apud Norwycum in Coñ Norff. coram

Waxtonesham vs. Item lego surmo altari ecclie poch de Lamnesse ijs. iiij*d*. Item lego conventui fratrum Predicatorum de Jernemuth xiijs. iiij*d*. Item lego conventui fratrum Carmelitorum in Norvico xiijs. iiij*d*. Item lego conventui fratrum predicatorum in Norvico xiijs. iiij*d*. Item lego conventui fratrum minorum in Norvico xiijs. iiij*d*. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum et catallorum meorum do et lego executoribus meis ad ea disponend pro salute aie meæ prout eis viderint Deo placere. Hujus autem testī mei executores meos facio ordino et confirmo Katerinam uxorem meam, Doñ Elam Brews, Johñem Fastolff, Johñem Withebery cap^{um}, Edmundum Clere de Stokesby, Simonem Gunnor, et Willm Man, et exoro reverendissimos Dños meos Dñm Thomam Norviceñ Epum et Willm Comitem Suff. essend supervisor testī mei predicti. In cujus rei testimonium huic presenti testamento meo sigillum meum apposui. Dat. die et anno supradict.

Hæc est ultima voluntas Dñi Milonis Stapulton facta xviiij^{mo} die mensis Septembris anno Dñi millesimo cccclxvi et per eundem Dñm Milonem in sua sana memoria coram testibus sufficientibus verbo tenus et nuncupative declarata prout infra sequitur. In primis prædictus Dñs Milo donavit et legavit Dñæ Katerinæ uxori suæ omnia et singula debita utensilia Jocalia ac bona sua mobilia ubicunque existentia. Illa clausula testamenti sui cujus dat. est anno Dñi millesimo cccclxij in qua residuum omnium bonorum suorum et catallorum suorum reliquit dispositioni et arbitrio executorum suorum in nullo obstante sed quatenus huic codicillo contraria fuerit pro non scripto haberi voluit ceteris legatis in eodem testamento suo veluti ratis et firmis manentibus. Itm voluit et expresse mandavit quod omnes et singuli redditus et proventus suorum maneriorum et possessionum in com̃ Wiltes et Suth̃ (Southampton) in quibus Ricūs Freston Cleṛ ad usum dicti Dñi Milonis dudum seisisit ad rogatum et requisitionem ejusdem Dñi Milonis maneria et possessiones

PEDIGREE OF STAPELTON OF INGHAM.

Emean Musard had Stapelton on Tees at Domecday Survey.

Sir John Stapelton, Comptroller of Household to K. Stephen.

Sir Miles Stapelton, Crusader. = Penrodas, da. of Benedict de Stapelton confirmed grant of land at Stapelton 1164—1181.—*Burton, Mon. Ebor.*; & gave five marks to K. John with Nich. de S. (1208.)—*Oblata Rola. K. of Cyprus.*

Galfridus de Stapelton. =

Nicholas de Stapelton fl. Galfridi.—*Burton, Mon. Ebor.* = Governor of Middleham Castle 1216, 17 John.—*Rot. Pat.*

Galfridus de Sta- pelton held two bovates at Stapelton on Tees 1287.—*Kirby's Inq.*

Roger de Stapelton, held two bovates of land at Stapelton on Tees 1287.—*Kirby's Inq.*

Nicholas de Stapelton, Justice of King's Bench 1 Edw. I. 1272, had West Hathelsey from king, and free warren at Stapelton, and N. Morton, Berks.—*Calend. Rot. Cart. 46 Hen. III.*

? An elder son, Crusader with K. Edw. I. 1272, monument with shield and label in Kirby Fleetham church.—*Whitaker's Richmondshire.*

Sibilla, da. of Sir J. = Milo de Stapelton. = 1st Baron, had Hathelsey & N. Morton, Carlton, &c. her husband and buried at York. Ld. Steward of Household to Edw. II., killed at Bannockburn 1314 — *Inq. p.m. 29 Edw. I.*

Juliana, 1st wife of Richard de Windsor, a quo Earl of Plymouth. Leonard's Hosp. 1307. —*Collins' Peerage. Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. II.*

Gilbert, a priest, granted custody of St. Leonard's Hosp. 1307. —*Rot. Pat. 1 Edw. II.*

Sir Nicholas de = Isabel, da. of John of Brittain, Earl of Richmond, great granddaughter of K. Hen. III., bur. at Drax Abbey, co. York.—*Burton, Mon. Ebor.*

Sir Gilbert de Sta- pelton, had North Morton from his father by gift, and Bedale "jure ux."; escheator beyond Trent 1320, died 1328.—*Doddsworth.*

Sir John de Stapelton, 1307, summoned as Kat. for Yorkshire 1324. Elizabeth, had houses in Southwark from her father.—*Rot Orig. Eliz. Stapelton.* "puella," bur. at Friars' Preachers.

Sir Miles de Stapelton, d. 1381, da. of Sir H. Vavasor of Hathelsey, &c. — <i>Inq. p.m.</i> — Elizabeth, wife of Sir W. Vavasor.	Isolda, 1 wife.	Sir Miles de Stapelton, lord of Bedale and Cotherstone, co. York, & of Ingham, co. Norf. jure ux. One of the founders of the Garter, served at Cressy, a Comte to the Treaty of Brittany 1360, died 1364, 37 Edw. III.	Jean, da. of Sir O. Ingham, & widow of Lord Strackyn, who died 1349 She was liv. 1361.	Sir Brian de S. = Alice, K.G., served in France; had Carlton at death of Thomas his cousin. Purchased Wighill 1376. — <i>Rot. Fin.</i> 50 Edw. III. Died 1394. — <i>Test. Ebor.</i>	Katherine, wife of Sir J. de Boys of Coningsby.	Avicia, wife of Sir Nic. de Medilton.
Thomas de = Sibill, da. of Stapelton, Sir John Fitzwilliam, d. s.p. 1373, who had Carl-hathelsey from the king.	Elizabeth, wife of Sir Thomas Metham, and took Stapelton, Kirby Fleet-ham, &c., to the Methams.	John, ob. s.p. vita patria.	Sir Miles de S. = Sir Edmd. Ufford, brother of Robert, Earl of Suffolk.	Edmund, married Matilda, widow of Sir Hugh Fastolf.	Sir Brian Stapelton, died 1391, bef. his father, having m. Eliz. da. of Sir Will. Aldburgh. His and Myton.	Sir Miles S. of Wighill, from whom are descended the families of Wighill and Myton.
Edmund, d. 1417, vita patria. — <i>Norff. Arch.</i> iv. 322.	Sir Brian Stapelton, born 1379, 2 Ric. II. = Cecilia, da. of Wm. Id. Bardolf by Agnes, da. of Sir M. Poyninga. She died 1432, 10 Hen. VI.	Sir Brian Stapelton, With 20 lances and 49 archers in retinue of Lord Willoughby in France. — <i>Gesta Henrici V.</i> Taken prisoner and ransomed, Sheriff of Norf. 1424, died 1438.	Elia, da. of Sir Edmd. Ufford, brother of Robert, Earl of Suffolk.	Ela, wife of Sir Robt. Brews of Salle, one of the executors of Sir Miles' will in 1466.	Ela, wife of Sir Robt. Brews of Salle, one of the executors of Sir Miles' will in 1466.	Ela, wife of Sir Robt. Brews of Salle, one of the executors of Sir Miles' will in 1466.
Elizabeth, da. of = Sir Miles Stapelton, of Ingham = Catharine, da. of Sir Thos. De la Pole, who survived her husband, & d. 1497 (?). Inq. p.m. 10 Hen. VII.	Sir Simon Felbrig, 1st wife.	Sir Will. Cathorp, whose children had Ingham.	Jean Stapelton, married —	Brian Stapelton, = Isabel, had £20 per ann. out of Cotharstone 1438.	Anne Stapelton, wife of Thomas Heath of Hengrave.	Anne Stapelton, wife of Thomas Heath of Hengrave.
Edmund, d. 1417, vita patria. — <i>Norff. Arch.</i> iv. 322.	Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of England.	Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of England.	1. Christopher Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt.	had £20 per ann. out of Cotharstone 1438.	Anne Stapelton, wife of Thomas Heath of Hengrave.	Anne Stapelton, wife of Thomas Heath of Hengrave.
Edmund, d. 1417, vita patria. — <i>Norff. Arch.</i> iv. 322.	Sir Edward Howard, Lord Admiral, K.G.	Sir Edward Howard, Lord Admiral, K.G.	2. Sir John Huddleston, Sheriff of co. Cumberland.	had £20 per ann. out of Cotharstone 1438.	Anne Stapelton, wife of Thomas Heath of Hengrave.	Anne Stapelton, wife of Thomas Heath of Hengrave.

Roman Discoveries at Ashill.

COMMUNICATED BY

THOMAS BARTON, ESQ.,

Local Secretary.

DURING the last few years the construction of railways has brought to light many relics of antiquity, as the transactions of kindred societies abundantly testify. But in no case has a more interesting discovery been made than in a cutting of the Watton and Swaffham railway, in the parish of Ashill in this county; and whilst the writers have generally had to lament over the wanton destruction of the objects found, it is my pleasing duty to record that this instance is an exception, as Mr. Valentine, the engineer of the line, took every possible care that nothing should be disturbed; and every facility was afforded me in making a minute examination, the result of which was that not less than one hundred and twenty Roman urns were found, and of these upwards of fifty were exhumed entire, together with other antiquities which are described in the following pages. I shall state the facts, leaving the more learned members of our Society to solve what seems to be an archæological enigma.

The district has been known from remote times as "HIGHWOOD;" and though no wood (except hedgerow timber) is now seen, it no doubt formed part of Saham great wood, a large portion of which is still standing towards the south-east: it is on high ground, being nearly 270 ft. above the level of the sea. The field itself has long been known as Robin Hood's Garden, though, of course, the earth-works existed long before the advent of that reputed outlaw. It is somewhat curious that "Robin's Patch or

Threpton House
in Waltham
31 July

John,

210.

I read the proof,
this morning and it
appears to be quite
correct. I have
forwarded a copy to
Mr R S with Mr Wye
as agreed with Mr R S
shall have them
up by in a day or two

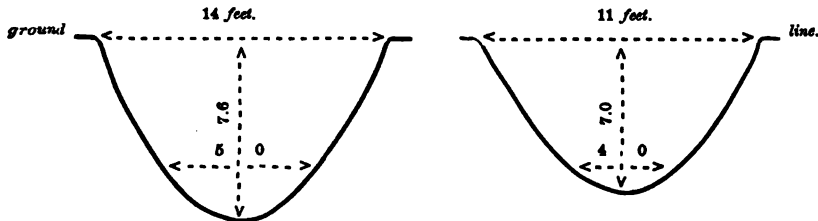
as I expect the person
will add a note
or two to it. I will
send it on a run
as I can it.

Yours truly
Wm. L. Carter

Prof. M. L. H.

Croft" is sometimes used where Roman discoveries have been made, as at Uriconium¹ and other places.

The plan on plate 1 will shew the line of earthworks, though the course of agriculture for upwards of ninety years has nearly obliterated all trace of them; but the railway cutting affords a good section of both ditches, which are shewn in the diagrams below.



The lines have all the appearance of a Roman Camp, but the extent (10 acres) is against it, especially as there is a similar one at Ovington,² not a mile distant, and considerably larger. Another important feature is that the ditch was *inside*, both here and at Ovington, which would not have been the case had it been a place of defence. I think we may therefore venture to assume that it was an enclosure belonging to a villa, having an outer and inner field, the villa being at the north-east corner marked A on the plan, and whence, as I am informed, foundations of buildings were removed, when the land was brought into cultivation.

In the slope of the cutting was found what appeared a wood tunnel, the angle only being cut off, and the workmen thought it a drain, calling it a *sump*.³ Mr. Valentine's attention was called to it, and that gentleman wrote to me respecting it. Further investigation proved it to be a shaft or well 3½ ft. square and 40 ft. deep. It was formed of oak planks four or five inches thick, and put together something like an Oxford frame. The isometrical view

¹ *Gentleman's Mag.*, ccxii. page 404.

² *Archæologia*, xxiii. p. 53.

³ In the Midland counties a drain is called a *sump*.

of it in plate No. 2 will give a better description than a written one. The excavation was a foot larger, and the space between that and the planks was filled in with well-worked puddle to make it impervious to water, or if filled with water to prevent its escape. The wood-work began about six feet from the surface, which appeared to have been excavated in a V shape, so as to be more easy of access, a paved road leading towards it from the north, as shewn on the plan; whilst an oak plank formed a way to it on the west; so, no doubt, for whatever purpose it was intended, frequent visits to it were made. Within the broken soil, and near the surface, was found the horse-shoe fibula on plate No. 3, fig. 4: it is of late Roman type and not uncommon.

At 4 ft. from the commencement of the wood-work were found numerous fragments of pottery, pieces of charcoal, bones of the ox and deer, with the remains of a basket of wicker-work, much like those now in use.

At 8 ft., more fragments of pottery and Samian ware, together with bones of ox, swine and deer. Here was also found part of an earthen colander: it appears to have been similar to an ordinary urn, with perforations at the bottom.

At 10 ft., more Samian ware, which included drinking cups and shallow patera, most of them stamped with the makers' names, which were as follows:—

REGINVS. F	M. IVBILVS	VIRTHVS
OF. MCCAC	OF. I....NIS	VRILIS

The second of these appears to be unpublished. There are duplicates of some of them. A piece of stamped wall-plaster was here found, of a well-known Roman pattern, and which perhaps adorned the wall of the supposed villa. The knife of iron, figured on plate 3,

Scutthorpe
Fakenham
May 5

Refrs Miller and Rawins,
I return the proofs
of the Harpley paper -

Mrs Fitch considered
that it was more desirable
to alter the arrangement
of the text than to add
supplementary matters
at the end -

I have therefore inserted
my additional remarks

at pages 27, 28, 31 and 32.

As this will alter the arrangement of the text, the correction of the final page can be adopted or not as convenient.

I have a small block of the font which was in the church, but which was removed a few years ago —
 If ^{an engraving of} it could be conveniently

inserted, it would be
as well. I send it to you
today.

Y^{rs} obed^{tly}

Rachel Jones



PORCH, WALPOLE ST. PETER'S.

Doughton-in-the-Brake.

BY

MRS. HERBERT JONES.

AMONG those level tracts of verdure, intersected by the gleaming of the narrow paths of water, so well known to all dwellers in the marsh district of Norfolk,—where the graceful vertical lines of the numerous steeples break the flatness, and rise into the air with welcome contrast,—there stands a church, remarkable for size and beauty even among the many adjacent edifices whose architectural merits are so unusual, and interesting as the centre of the village of

Walpole, where the family originated which has since become one of the principal threads in the historical tissue of Norfolk, running through it in many directions, and enriching the local tapestry with some brilliant spots, destined to remain permanent.

The events in the story of this family are connected with many parts of the county: Syderstone, Lynn, Wolterton, Walpole, are all filled with its traces, or identified with its progress; but the place of all others upon which the name of Walpole is most emphatically impressed is Houghton, the possession of the race for seven hundred years, and the site where, after the successive rise, occupation, and disappearance of two family mansions, a third was erected in later days, which, for stateliness of design, perfection of structure, and historical interest, takes a foremost place in the county which it adorns.

To settle at Houghton, the Walpoles, some time in the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century, left their abode in the centre of that vast level, which, bordered by the sea on the north and east, extends, beyond the limits of "Marshland" properly so called, far up into Lincolnshire, and southwards to where the grand gray outlines of Ely fill the sky. That cathedral, striking in itself, as it stands like a queen on its rocky islet,—the spot which for so many centuries gathered the riches of the surrounding flats, and studded them in return with architectural beauty,—is rendered still more impressive by the uninterrupted luminous arch behind it, shining down to the horizon, and by the masses of light, intercepted by neither incident nor shadow, which enliven the low-lying landscape in the foreground. This breadth of the sheet of sunshine, or of the darker veil of storm or twilight,—an effect unknown in more diversified regions,—is a feature which lends a charm to the fens, and seems to render them a fitting transition-ground between the homelike, cheerful, undulating country on the one side,

and the sea beyond them, where the cloud-shadows float with scarcely more distinctness and beauty than on their level sweep.

In the early days in question, before modern achievement had converted this amphibious district into a green and bounteous plain, the "vast and deep fen" must have offered little attraction either in the way of climate or society, although redeemed by the beauty of the churches which embellished the "seven towns of Marshland" and other spots. These, whose building was facilitated by the easy transmission of materials by water, were also due to the connection of most of the locality with the conventual establishment of Ely, which had possessed lands in Norfolk from a remote period, and held property during several centuries in Wisbech, Downham, Upwell, Emneth, Outwell, Wiggshall, Lynn, Terrington, &c.¹

Walpole St. Peter's had belonged to the church of Ely long before the Conquest,² and is described as "a place of no small note, by reason it gave birth to S. Goderic the Hermit, of whom Matthew Paris maketh ample mention." In spite however of this saintly association, the perpetual inundations in the two or three centuries following the days of Edward the Confessor, were so disheartening, that it is little to be wondered at if the Walpoles should have desired to leave quarters so precarious. Some resistance to the encroachments of the sea had been made as early as the times of the Romans, but long after draining had been begun, and banks made, accidents of an uncomfortable nature would occasionally occur. Life, we know, is proverbially insecure and uncertain, but this truth must have been presented with disagreeable emphasis to those who

¹ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. i., part ii., p. 494.

² Bentham's *History of Ely*, p. 87. Walpole was given to Ely with Ailwin, who became a monk there, in the reign of King Ethelred. Ethelred died in 1016.

were liable to have the ground they stood on disappear beneath their feet, and the churches in which they were fostering their heavenly aspirations suddenly and mysteriously sink away into a nether region. Such an event is said to have happened more than once at the beginning of the fourteenth century, when "the church of Ristofte with three hundred acres of land, was lost for ever, on the Eve of St. Andrew, by the breaking of a certain sea bank,"³ and another parish church with its parsonage was entirely ruined and sunk by the rushing in of the sea.

"Where once was solid land, seas have I seen,
And solid land where once deep seas have been."

The immediate occasion of the removal of the Walpoles from their habitation in Marshland, where they still for many centuries continued to hold a manor, was a marriage which took place between Emma, daughter of Walter de Havelton, or Houton, and Richard, the son of Reginald de Walpole. From this Richard de Walpole the possessors of Houghton descended in direct line from father to son until the year 1791, when that line was broken, and, six years later, was transferred by marriage to a different name. That the family had its residence at Walpole appears from certain ancient charters which are mentioned by Collins in his *Baronage* as being in the possession of Sir Robert Walpole (1727),⁴ and also from the moat which remains in the village of Walpole, indicating the site of the house. There are also at Houghton some deeds which have reference to this marriage. Reginald de Walpole lived about the time of Henry I., but Collins considers that the Walpoles did not actually settle at Houghton until the time of Henry III., or early in the thirteenth century.

Houghton, which has been their dwelling-place for so many generations, must at first have almost equalled the

³ Dugdale's *History of Embanking*, p. 255.

⁴ Collins's *Baronage*, p. 652.

land they had left, in its barrenness and flatness, its absence of light and shadow, wood and shelter. The vast plantations, which now clothe, and beguile into some variety of line, its long straight reaches, were placed there hundreds of years later by Sir Robert Walpole, whilst the ancient ruined elms that still remain near the church, adorned the domain when the house existed of which traces are to be found close to the present building, but which sheltered Walpoles of far more modern aspect than the bridegroom who first took up his abode in this locality.

The Walpoles of the next few generations inhabited, as far as can be surmised from certain vestiges, a house north-west of the present one, which was situated in what is now laid out as part of the garden. The tall beeches which now grow there,—with glimpses framed between their stems of the broad velvet lawns, the noble grey domes and stately statues of the present abode,—the winding walks, and the luxuriant flowers, efface and supersede completely the scene where so much life and movement must once have been stirring. An avenue of very old oaks, not of particularly large size, but rugged with age, the trees about fourteen feet apart,—its narrowness, and the ancient look of the trees, which during the lapse of many years have remained unaltered in size, presenting a marked contrast to the spacious avenues which characterize the time of Sir Robert Walpole,—leads up to one side of this house, the earliest of which there are any remains. Near the termination of the avenue, but not actually in line with it,—suggesting the possibility either of a turn in the trees, or of those now remaining having formed a side aisle to another approach,—are the foundations, laid bare some years ago, of two very thick walls, one forming the side, the other probably the back main wall of the house.⁵ They are four feet and a

⁵ The uncovering of these foundations is testified to by the Rev. J. H. Broome, Vicar of Houghton. Mr. Broome has, with great kindness,

half thick; the latter one, which runs from north to south, 142 ft. long. The house, which faced either north or east, must have been a large one, and probably a fortified one, if the evidence is to be accepted of a stone mullioned window, furnished with very strong iron stanchions, which was dug up not long ago on this spot. Other objects have also been found here; part of a very old sun-dial, of simple design, a curious relic of the round of daily life which it suggests, of those with whom time is no longer, and a contrast to the elaborate bronze sun-dials, engraved with his coat of arms, and star and garter, which were afterwards put up by Sir Robert Walpole. Household articles of iron and brass have been picked up from time to time by workmen and gardeners, and the ground is still scattered and inlaid with fragments of brick and mortar. A magnificent pollard oak of great age and size stands near the back of the dwelling-place, and on its north side a defined space of soil of rich loam, which up to within a few years abounded with wild gooseberry and raspberry plants, indicates the locality of the ancient kitchen garden.

When this house and garden were still flourishing, and after the lapse of four centuries from the first settlement of the Walpoles at Houghton, one of the family, Thomas Walpole, appears to have been lord of the manor; it was he who added the north aisle to the church, who left money for the erection of his tomb, and also for "an abil preat to syng mass perpetually for his soul" in the chapel of St. Nicholas at Lynn. He died in January, 1513, having a son Edward, then thirty years old, who married Lucy, the sister of Sir John Robsart, of Syderstone; and whose son John Walpole became heir eventually to the hapless

furnished many of the traditions connected with Houghton which are mentioned in this article. In his *Houghton and the Walpoles*, published in 1866, an account of this early house is given, and much interesting information on the subject of Houghton and its successive owners.

Amye Robsart, whose pathetic story has been immortalized in the brilliant romance of Sir Walter Scott,⁶ sung in the quaint ballad of Mickle, illustrated by the hand of modern art, and disputed, discussed, or confirmed by historian and antiquary ever since the day three hundred years ago, when the quiet meadows and river of Oxford "re-echoed with affright" the cry of death from the neighbouring mansion of Cumnor Place, where the tragedy was enacted which put an end to the heiress of the Robsarts, and transferred their family property to another name. In consequence of the death of Amye Robsart without children, and of the marriage of her aunt Lucy Robsart with Edward Walpole, Syderstone, with its roomy mansion and adjacent little church, its picturesque common stretching for miles, roughened by the furze and grass, among which we are told the sheep were pastured in those early days,—and Bircham, crossed by the old Roman road, and watered by its pools, the "sang-meres," suggestive of some long-forgotten battle,—became annexed to the Houghton estate, which has continued from that time to this to hold the legacy bequeathed to it by the far-off and mysterious occurrence of the night of September the 8th, 1560.

Although it has been sought more than once to establish the humane character of Anthony Forster, at whose house the death of Amye Robsart took place, and the innocence of Leicester, and although the materials thus brought forward, and evidence offered, involve the event in much doubt and perplexity, yet the popular impression, given so strongly by certain publications at and soon after the time, confirmed subsequently by the researches of Ashmole as narrated in his *Antiquities of Berkshire*, and deepened in later times by the

⁶ It would, perhaps, be more just to say that *Kenilworth* is founded upon the story of Amye Robsart, rather than that it is a reproduction of it; the wide divergence from history being probably intentional, and adopted to enhance the effect of the novel.

story of Scott, and by the expressed conviction of Froude,⁷ remains and would be difficult to efface, that a state of mind so melancholy, a fate so solitary and so unnatural, a death so early and so sudden, were the result of a cruel endeavour to remove from the world an existence which had become inconvenient and burdensome. The question is discussed at length in an article written for the Archæological Institute, by Mr. Pettigrew, in 1859, also in Mr. Adlard's *History of Amye Robsart and the Earl of Leicester*, and more recently in a paper by Canon Jackson, F.S.A.;⁸ and from various sources, the story, shortly sketched, would seem to be as follows. A widow lady, Mrs. Appleyard, the possessor of Stanfield Hall and Rainthorpe in Norfolk, and the mother of three or four children, married, shortly after the death of her husband Roger Appleyard, Sir John Robsart, the owner of Syderstone. He had inherited that estate from his father, Sir Terry Robsart, who, with others of his family, is buried in the church of Syderstone. Sir John Robsart appears to have possessed a family house at Syderstone, where he and his sister Lucy were brought up, which lasted beyond the days when it devolved upon the son of Lucy and Edward Walpole of Houghton, and up to the time of Sir Robert Walpole, in whose marriage settlement it is mentioned. Amye, born about 1530, was the only child of Sir John and Lady Robsart, and although her birth is said to have taken place at Stanfield Hall, the property of her mother, and where she had the companionship of her half-brothers and sisters, the Appleyards,—the eldest of whom, John Appleyard, was much connected with her and her husband in after life,—it is probable that some periods of her childhood were passed in the house at Syderstone, in the neighbourhood of her relations at Houghton. The traces of walls, local tradition, and the

⁷ Froude's *History of England*, vol. xii., p. 497.

⁸ See note to page 241.

occasional finding of certain relics, attest to the existence of this house. Village stories of two old elm trees which grew in front of the Hall, of remembrances of the floor of a room and a hearthstone, of ruins filled up, of the finding of candlesticks, fireirons, gold coins, pieces of carved brick in the "Hall Lane,"—these, with the remains of extensive foundations near the church, spreading over a large space of ground now occupied by the house and garden of Syderstone Rectory, are the lingering evidences of the demolished abode of the Robsarts.

The marriage of Amye Robsart with Robert Dudley, a younger son of the Duke of Northumberland, he being eighteen, and she probably a year or two older, took place, in 1550, at Sheen, near Richmond, in the presence of King Edward VI.,⁹ and the day after the marriage of his elder brother, Lord Lisle, with the daughter of the Duke of Somerset. If Sir John Robsart continued to live at Stanfield Hall,¹ it is not unlikely that Amye, upon her marriage with Sir Robert Dudley,² took possession of Syderstone as her home. There is a letter existing from her referring to the interests of herself and her husband there, and two years after their marriage, upon the death of Sir John Robsart, the estate was left to them. Eight years elapsed between the date of their marriage and the accession of Queen Elizabeth, soon after which Lord Robert was made a member of the Privy Council and was honoured with other marks of distinction, but it was not until after that event that he received the gift of a house at Kew, and not till long after the death of Amye, that of Kenilworth Castle.

⁹ Lysons' *Environs of London* (ed. 1796), under Richmond and West Sheen, p. 449, and Burnett's *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 20 (ed. 1816), where King Edward's Journal of his own reign is printed. The original is in the Cottonian Collection, in the British Museum.

¹ "Sir John Robsart, Knight, and Dame Elizabeth his wife, dwelt in Stanfield Hall, in 1546."—Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. ii., p. 544.

² The Earl of Warwick became Duke of Northumberland in 1551.

Where Amye Dudley lived during those ten years of married life remains obscure: probably some time at Syderstone, and later, at the houses of friends, to judge by her well-known letter preserved in the British Museum, dated from Mr. Hyde's, and from her subsequent residence at Cumnor Place. So slight are the records or traces of those ten years, that two or three times only does her life rise out of the dimness in which it is wrapped. The first intimation of her is when she visits her husband in the Tower, three years after their marriage. His imprisonment there,—in consequence of the part he took in assisting to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne,—the terrible events which took place in the Dudley family at that time, culminating in the execution of her youthful and brilliantly-accomplished sister-in-law, must have been startling and painful incidents in the life of Amye Robsart, brought up as she had been in the quiet seclusion of the old Norfolk manor houses. Her brother, John Appleyard, supported Lord Robert Dudley in the struggle against the Catholic party, and this, with Amye's visit to the Tower, seems to shew that she then shared the public interests and family society of the Dudleys, and was not entirely confined to the privacy of Norfolk or Berkshire, nor given over to the alienated and deserted condition into which she afterwards fell when her formidable rival ascended the throne. The ambition of her husband, the queen's passion for him, his court occupations and continual absence, must have rendered the marriage of Amye Robsart a lonely one, a supposition which is confirmed by the next trace of her, the letter before alluded to. This letter is on the subject of certain affairs at Syderstone; but it contains expressions indicative of disquiet and distress. She speaks of "her lord's departing," of his being occupied and troubled with weighty affairs, and owns that she forgot the necessary arrangements to be made at Syderstone, because she was "not altogether in

quiet for his sudden departing,"—an expressive phrase, in spite of the moderation of the language.

Perhaps there was about the circumstances of the marriage,—although as heiress to a good estate she was more than a match for Robert Dudley,—a touch of that incongruity which characterized the Lord of Burleigh, "not a lord in all the country is so great a lord as he," and his "village maiden," and she may have found that the rural training of her Norfolk home was scarcely the most fitting preparation for the faithful binding to her side of so brilliant and unprincipled a royal favourite as the future Earl of Leicester.

One other letter has been found from her, which has been recently brought to light, giving another touch of reality and detail to the somewhat slender narrative of her life. It is a letter to William Edney, a tailor in London,³ giving an order for a velvet gown, written with a curious friendliness and courtesy, which would surprise the mantua-makers of the present day, and alluding to her previous gown

³ This letter was discovered in 1865 by Canon Jackson among the papers at Longleat; a copy of it was brought to Norfolk by the late Mr. Frederick Walpole at the time, but it remained unpublished by him. It is inserted here by the permission of Canon Jackson, and as an extract from an article written by him on the subject of the papers found by himself at Longleat referring to Amye Robsart, in the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, vol. xvii., p. 47. The Longleat documents, connected with Amye Robsart, which have lately been given to the public by Canon Jackson, in the Appendix to the article, supply a number of facts hitherto unknown, of very great interest. One of the documents, a marriage settlement, is here quoted by his kind permission.

Amye, Lady Dudley's Letter to her Tailor.

"edney w^t my harty comendations thesso shalbe
to desier you to take y^e paynes for me As
to make this gowne of vellet whiche I sende
you w^t suche A Collare as you made my
rosset taffyta gowne you sente ^{me} last

"of russet taffeta." This, and other items of attire which are contained in a bill of the said William Edney, are the only fragments of outward appearance which she has left

& I will se you dyscharged for all I pray
 you let it be done w^t as mucche speade
 as you can & sente by this bearrar
 frewen the carryar of oxforde / & &
 thus I bed you most hartely fare well
 from comnare this xxiiij of avguste

Your Assured frind

AMYE DUDDLEY."

"To my very frinde will
 yam / edney the taylor
 y^e at tower rill geve
 this
 in London."

Covenant by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick (afterwards Duke of Northumberland) to settle Cokkisford Priory, co. Norfolk, and other lands, on his son, "Robert Duddleley, Esquyer," upon his intended marriage with Amye, daughter and heir of Sir John Robsart, Kt. (*Original at Longleat.*)

"This Indenture made the xxiiijth day of May in the fowerth year of the raign of our Soverayne Lord Edward the sixth by the grace of God of England Fraunce and Ireland Kinge, Defender of the faythe and in earth of the Church of England and also of Ireland the supreme head Betwene the right honorable John Earle of Warwyke, Viscounte Lysle, of the honorable order of the gartyr knight and lorde grayte Mayster of the Kinge's moost honorable householde on thone partie and Syr John Robsert knyght of thother partie Wytnesseth that the said parties bene fully condiscended and agreed that a maryage shortly upon thensealinge herof shalbe hadd and solempnyzed betwene Robarte Duddleley esquyer one of the yonger sonnes of the said Erle and Amye Robsart daughter and heyre apparaunte to the said Syr John Robsart if the said Robart and Amye will thereunto condiscend and agree and in consideration of the said maryage eyther of the sayd parties dothe covenante and graunte to and with the other in manner and forme folowinge, that ys to say. Fyrste Whereas our saide soverayne Lorde the Kinge by his letters Patents bering date at Westminster the xxth day of Maii last past dyd amongst other things geve and graunte to the said Erle and hys heyres the reversion and reversions of all that his Scyte Cyrcuyte and Precincte of the late Pryory of Cokkysforde and of all that

behind her, no picture existing to yield a suggestion of the form and face which looked out from so dark a background in so gay a vesture. This letter is supposed to have been

the manor of Cokkysforde in the countie of Norfolk with all theyre rights members & appurtenances whatsoever they were to the said Pryory lately belongynge & aperteyning & late being parcell of the possessions and revenues of Thomas late Duke of Norfolk of high treason attaynted, and of all & every the howsings buyldings gardynes orchards lands and soyle within the said Scyte & precyncte of the said late Pryory of Cokkysforde, and of the Rectories and Churches of Est rudham West rudham Brounsthorne and Barmer & the moytie of the Rectorie of Burneham and also of the manors and farmes of Est rudham West rudham Barmer Tytleale Syddisterne Thorp market & Bradefylde with all theyre rights members & appurtenances whatsoever they be to the said late Pryory of Cokkysforde lately belonging & aperteyning, and of the advocacion & right of patronage of the Vycarages of the said Churches of Est rudham West-rudham Brounsthorne & Barmer aforesaid & of the moytie of the advocacion of the Vycarage of the said Church of Burneham and of all that warren of conyes called Brokelinge, and of the courses of faldage of sheep called many ewes & wether course and of one course of faldage of sheep called Warren slake with theyre appurtenances in Est rudham aforesaid, & of one other course of faldage of sheep with the appurtenances called the Gouge in West rudham aforesaid, and of all other his Grace's lands tenements & hereditaments whatsoever they were in Est rudham West rudham Brounsthorne Harpton Folsham Woodnorton Hillington Burneham Sydesterne Estbarsham Broughton Barmer Tatersett in the said countie of Norfolk or in any of them to the said late Pryory of Cokkysforde by any manner of way belonging or aperteyning as by the same letters Patents more at large may and doth appere Hrr ys now to be knowene by these presents that the said Erle for the consyderacons aforesaid hathe gyven granted bargayned and solde and by these presents dothe clerely gave grant bargayne and sell unto the said Robarte and Amye and to the heyres of the body of the said Robarte all that his reversion and reversions of all and singler the said premisses and all his tytle & interest in to & for the same premisses & every or any parte or parcell thereof, and that the said Erle and his heyres & every of them at all tymes hereafter for and duringe the tyme of one hole yere next and immediatly ensuing the date of these presents shall do and suffre to be done all and every thinge & thinges act & actes which shalbe resonably devised for the more better assurance of suer conveyance of the tytle and interest whiche the said Erle hath in to & for the premysses or any parte or parcell thereof to be had made & conveyed to the said Robarte & Amye & to the heyres of the body of the said Robarte & for defalte of soche issue to the right heyres of the said Erle for ever AND

written very shortly before her death, and after the time when she had been consigned by her husband to the home and custody of Anthony Forster.

that the said Erle for the said consideracons aforesaid shall by good and lawful conveyance & assurance in the law geve graunte & assure unto the saide Robarte & Amye & to the longer lyver of them one annual or yerely rent of Fyftie Pounds of good and lawfull money of England with a clause of distres for non-payment thereof to be growinge owte of the manor of Burton Lysle in the countie of Leycester & of all other his lands tenements and hereditaments in Burton Lysle foresaid. To HAVE AND PARCEVE the said yerly rent of fyftie poundes unto the said Robarte and Amye & to the longer lyver of them from the day of the said maryage solempnyed, at the Feastes of St. Mychell th' archangell and the Annuncyacon of our Lady by even porcyons for and during the lyf of the Righte excellent Prynces the Lady Marie's grace sister to the King's Majestie if the said Lady Mary fortune so longe to be unmarried with this Proviso to be conteyned in the said graunte that immediatly from & after the Deathe of the said Lady Mary or that she fortune to be maryed that then & from thensforth the said graunte of the said yerly rent to be voyde & of no force in the law AND over that the said Erle covenanteth & promyseth to & with the said Syr John Robsart to pay unto the said Syr John Robsart at th enselinge of these presents the sum of Too Hundred Powndes of good and lawfull money of England wherof the said Syr John Robsart clerly acquyteth & dischargeth the said Erle his heyres & executors by these presents AND the said Syr John Robsart covenanteth and graunteth for hym his heyres & executors to & with the said Erle his heyres & executors that he the said Syr John Robsart, & the Lady Elizabeth his wife shall at the proper costs & charges in the law of the said Erle his heyres or executors do and suffre to be done all and every soche resonable acte & actes thinge and thinges wherby the manors of Sydis-terne, and Newton juxta Byrcham in the countie of Norfolk, the manor of greate Byrcham in the said countie of Norfolk, & the manor of Bulkham in the countie of Suffolk and all & singular those lands tenements & hereditaments accepted reputed letten knowen or taken as any parte parcell or membre of the said manors or of any parte or parcell thereof or being letten to or with any of them with theyre appurtenances being parcell of the inherytaunce of the said Syr John Robsart shall and may be conveyed to the said Syr John Robsart during his lif without impechement of any manner of waste, the rem' thereof to the said lady Elyzabeth duringe her lyf, the rem' thereof to the said Robart and Amye and to the heyres of the body of the said Amye and for defalte of soche issue the rem' thereof to the ryght heyres of the said Sir John Robsarte for ever. AND over that the said Syr John Robsart covenanteth granteth & promyseth to & with the said Erle his

There stood at this time on the borders of Berkshire, about midway between Oxford and Abingdon, a large quadrangular house built close to the church of Cumnor; its massive walls, and gables of irregular height, surrounding a court, the rooms and galleries lighted by pointed Gothic windows, with a garden lying under the broad south front, and encircled by a small park abounding in fish-ponds, and terminated by terraces overlooking the sloping ground and valleys of the adjacent country. This house, built for the summer residence of the abbots of the neighbouring monastery of Abingdon, had passed into the hands of a man who had some connection with Lord Robert Dudley, who at the time of the reputed murder rented the place, who afterwards bought it, and eventually bequeathed it to Lord Robert. In the south-west corner of this abode an apartment was, according to tradition, assigned to Amye Dudley: the elegant arched window of her chamber looked into the court, straight upon the chapel in the opposite

heyres and executors that he the said Syr John Robsart shall well & truly during his lyf if hit fortune the said Robarte & Amye so longe to lyve, content & pay to the said Robarte yerly during the said terme the sum of Twenty Powndes of good and lawfull money of England to be paid at fower times in the yere that ys to say at the Feaste of St. Mychell tharchangell, the nativitie of our Lord th annunciacon of our lady and the natyvytie of saynt John Baptist by even porcions. AND also the said Syr John Robsart covebanteth promyseth & graunteth to & with the said Erle that yf hit shall fortune the said Robarte and Amye & the heyres of theyre too bodyes lawfully betwene them begotten or any of them to outlyve the said Syr John Robsart and the lady Elizabeth his wife that then the said Robarte & Amye & the heyres of theyre too bodyes or one of them shall after the decesse of the said Syr John Robsart & the lady Elizabeth have and enjoy of the fre gifte will and legacie of the said Syr John Robsart the nombre of Thre Thowsand Shepe to be left in a stokke goinge on the premisses in Norfolk & Suffolk foresaid. IN WYTNES wherof to thone parte of these presents remayning with the said Erle the said Syr John Robsart hath put his seale, and to thother parte remayning with the said Syr John Robsart the said Erle hathe put his seale the day and yere fyrste above wrytten.

J. WARWYK."

corner, and over the roof of the house on to the church tower beyond. Close to the room was an ornamented doorway, in the south wall of the house, which led into the garden.⁴ Here, after her visit to the Hydes in the neighbourhood, (from whose house one of her letters is dated) she lived for some time in retirement, her companions probably being Anthony Forster, his wife, and the Owens, of whom the house was rented. She had certainly a large retinue of servants, and one maid "who did dearlie love her;" but that she did not share the family life is shewn by a letter written by a visitor to Cumnor immediately after her death, in which her selecting one companion for dinner is mentioned; and, according to the assertions of those who surrounded her, she was "of a strange minde," and passionate, but much given to prayer of a sad and agonizing character, "prayers to God to deliver her from desperation." Anthony Forster, her guardian, although reckoned a man of superior education and cultivated tastes, and the inscription on whose tombstone endows him with every virtue, has descended to posterity with a very doubtful reputation, and is unfavourably connected with the sombre notoriety which attaches to Cumnor Place. One Sunday towards the end of the summer of 1560, Lady Robert Dudley, according to some authorities, but more probably Forster himself, insisted upon her whole establishment at Cumnor betaking themselves to the fair which was going on at Abingdon, four miles distant. She then arranged that one of the two ladies staying in the house should dine with her on this day, when the large rambling old house must have been strangely silent without the presence of the band of servants who usually peopled it. Everyone knows the stillness and brightness of a long September afternoon, a stillness

⁴ The plan of Cumnor Place, given in illustration, has been supplied by A. D. Bartlett, Esq., of Abingdon, in whose *Historical and Descriptive Account of Cumnor Place*, published in 1850, it first appeared.

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and brightness which on this occasion contrasted as strongly with the event of the coming night as did the gaiety of the neighbouring fair, or the quiet peace of a rural Sabbath day. As the sun gradually left the southern walls of the quadrangle and sank to westward, the shadows from the tall gable in the corner of the house, which contained the rooms destined to be so fatally associated, crept slowly across the court, until the evening closed in; when Amye Dudley, leaving the suite of apartments she usually inhabited,—taking unawares, “as from a deathbed, her last living leave”⁴ of the outward world,—retired to occupy the large bedchamber (on the same side, but at the other end of the building,) in which she had been unaccountably directed to sleep that night, and which communicated by a door with a winding stone staircase leading down to a room called the Buttery, underneath. This circular flight of steps started from a point in the “buttery” not far from the main entrance of the house, and gave access, after passing the door of the bed-room, to a gallery which extended the whole length of the north front of the building. The chamber, a spacious and lofty one, anciently the dormitory of the monks, looked out by a fine Gothic window into the court. No other window connected this room with the outer scene, or relieved the loneliness of its situation. At the back of it were the now deserted offices; beneath, the large, low, dimly-lighted buttery; the bed’s head was placed close to the door at the top of the staircase; the nearest part of the house was the broad corridor over the north entrance, called the Long Gallery.

Before the return of the servants, and in the dusk of the autumn evening, the door was opened, and, whether by murder or mishap, there followed the ugly violent crash, which left a helpless heap at the foot of the stone stairs,

⁴ Richard II., Act v., scene i.

and changed the obscure and insignificant reputation of the lady into her subsequent character as a heroine of romance.⁵

A coroner's inquest ensued, and then a grand funeral procession to the church of St. Mary's at Oxford,⁶ at which, however, her husband was not present; and Cumnor Place fell into disrepute and ruin, a terror to the neighbourhood, and was finally demolished at the beginning of the present century. The spirit of Amye Robsart continued, so said the villagers, to haunt for some time the foot of the stone staircase, dressed in superb attire; but, if ghosts can travel, the legend may be true, that Syderstone Rectory also shared the post-mortem visits of its former occupant, and has echoed sometimes to sounds strange and incomprehensible from the reputed "ghost room" of that habitation.

The historical evidence which throws the most light upon these events is the correspondence between Lord Robert Dudley and Thomas Blount, which is preserved among the Pepys papers. These letters, from which the previous details have been extracted, have been printed and published several times, and are therefore generally accessible:⁷ they are curiously interesting, and seem to be the best means of approaching the truth of the Cumnor tragedy, the account of Ashmole, being, according to Mr. Pettigrew, and also in the opinion of Canon Jackson, a perverted narrative of the occurrence. Mr. Pettigrew considers that the death

⁵ The window described was removed, in 1810, to Wytham church, where it was placed in the east wall of the chancel.

⁶ In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1850, p. 125, a transcript is given of the account of the funeral, taken from the MS. in the Ashmolean collection.

⁷ The letters, contemporary copies of the originals, are said to have been lent by John Evelyn to Pepys, who failed to return them. They are printed in Pepys' *Diary*, the edition published 1848, by Lord Braybrooke, vol. i., the Appendix to which contains the letters. They were discovered about that date in the Pepysian library, at Cambridge, and were then published for the first time. In the same year they were also published by Craik, in his *Romance of the Peerage*, vol. i., Appendix No. 1, p. 400. They have since appeared in Adlard's *Amy Robsart and the Earl of Leicester*.

of Amye Robsart was caused by accident, and some colour is given to that view of the event by the immediate summoning of a coroner's inquest,—by the request of Robert Dudley that the near relations of his wife, John Appleyard and Arthur Robsart, should be present at that inquest,—by the verdict of the jury, "Death by mischance,"—and by the good character which was then borne by Anthony Forster; but, when recalling the desire of Lord Robert Dudley to marry the Queen,—his neglect of his wife,—the total want of any expression either of sorrow or surprise in his letter written on the reception of the tidings of her death,—his immediate solicitude lest he should be suspected,—the fact of her being placed in the house of his servant Forster,—the absence of her household, and the otherwise unaccountable change of chamber on the fatal night,—the strong popular impression at the time that a murder had been committed,—the previous whisper at Court that such a murder was contemplated,⁷—it is difficult to lift the shadow of guilt which first settled over, and has ever since darkened, the details of this story.

In the church at Syderstone, the memory of Amye Robsart is preserved by a time-worn representation in stone, over the entrance, of the bear and ragged staff, the badge of Lord Robert Dudley; and at Houghton there is to be seen a piece of stained-glass which records the union of the Robsart and Walpole families—the coat of arms in the east window of the south aisle of the church. There is also at Houghton, now placed over the mantelpiece of the "Audit Room," a carved stone shield, Walpole impaling Robsart, which, if contemporary with the marriage of Edward Walpole and Lucy Robsart, must have belonged to the

⁷ In an article in *Fraser's Magazine* for June, 1861, Froude mentions that the Spanish ambassador received intelligence from Cecil, Lord Burleigh, that the wife of Lord Robert Dudley was about to be murdered, and was at that moment (the autumn of 1560) guarding herself from poison.

there is a portrait at Houghton,² an oval picture, in dark green coat slashed with white, and large wig and bands, with a keen and shrewd expression on the round fair face. A descendant of the Walpoles possesses at this moment an old manuscript book which belonged to the wife of Mr. Robert Walpole, and which is in her own handwriting. It is called "Madam Walpol's Receipt book," and, among other entries, gives a list of her children, beginning with "ye age of all my children," by which it appears that eleven sons and eight daughters were born to Robert and Mary Walpole, in the space of twenty-two years.³ Coxe, in his allusions to Dorothy Lady Townshend, one of the daughters, mentions that she was "educated in the country," and the other children were, no doubt, brought up in their early years in the same manner. Tradition, handed down in the

² Over the door of the "small parlour."

³ This list is quoted by Coxe, in his *History of Sir Robert Walpole*, when the MS. was in the possession of the Rev. Horace Hamond, but the following extract is from the original volume.

Ye Age of all my children.

1. Susan was borne one Wednesday ye six of June 1672.
2. Mary was borne one Sunday ye eight of June 1673.
3. Edward was born on Tuesday ye twenty third of June 1674.
4. Burwell was borne on Thursday ye twenty six of August 1675.
5. Robertt was borne on Saterdag ye twenty six of August 1676.
6. John was borne on Monday ye third of September 1677.
7. Horatio was born on Sunday ye eight December } 1678.
8. Christopher was born on Fryday ye twenty of February } 1679.
9. Elizabeth was born on Thursday ye twenty fourth March 1680.
10. Elizabeth was born on Thursday ye seaven tenth October 1682.
11. Gallfridus was born on Saterdag ye fifteenth March 1683.
12. Ann was born Monday ye six Aprell 1685.
13. Dorathy was born Saterdag ye eight tenth September 1686.
14. Susan was born Munday ye fift of December 1687.
15. Mordaunt was born Thirsday ye thirteenth December 1688.
16. A boy still born ye eight of Aprell 1690.
17. Charles was born ye thirty of June 1691.
18. William was born fryday ye seven of Aprull 1693.
19. A daughter still born ye twenty of January, 1694-95.

locality, has yielded some few hints as to the childhood and training of Sir Robert Walpole, and has preserved some fragments of information as to his earliest education.

Not far from the house, and close to the church, was a road skirted by some fine old elm trees, three of which remain, where Sir Jeffery Burwell, the grandfather of Sir Robert, is reported to have taught the future statesman his letters. Looking at the church, and at the distinct traces of the old road near it, those two figures rise up and present themselves: the boy (to judge by the portrait taken of him some years later on as a young man) with chubby bright complexion, marked eyebrows, well-formed curved mouth, and the nose, slightly "retroussé," which appeared then in most of the Walpole faces; dressed in the long-skirted coat, deep cuffs, and buckled shoes of those days—a quaint sturdy little form, at an age when he certainly "smiled without art"⁴ whatever may have been his custom afterwards—and, with the child, his old grandfather, pacing up and down, initiating him into the mysteries of the alphabet; the green foliage above them, the road and chequered shade beneath their feet, the gnarled stems and the church on their right hand, the village cross and village sounds close by.

The ground under the elm trees, although the road is obliterated, is still called "Sir Jeffery's Walk," and the remembrance is preserved of the childish lessons which went on there. The old fruit garden must also have been a favourite haunt of this pair, and of the numerous family

⁴ "Go see Sir Robert—

See Sir Robert!—hum—

• • • • •

Seen him I have, but in his happier hour

Of social pleasure, ill-exchanged for power;

Seen him, uncumbered with the venal tribe,

Smile without art, and win without a bribe."

Pope's *Epilogue to the Satires*, Dialogue i., v. 26.

of brothers and sisters who swarmed about the house, many of them subsequently well known in Norfolk and elsewhere: Horatio, afterwards Lord Walpole of Wolterton; Galfridus, who distinguished himself in the navy; Dorothy, the future "lady in brown," who has floated about Raynham so mysteriously for the last hundred and fifty years; Mary, afterwards the wife of Sir Charles Turner; Susan, who married Anthony Hamond of Westacre, and who is so amusingly alluded to by Horace Walpole in one of his letters, as "my ancient aunt Hamond, who came over to Lynn to see me, not from any affection, but curiosity," and who rebuked her nephew for sitting instead of standing when he was chaired at the Lynn Election:—"Child, you have done a thing that your father never did in his life; you sat as they carried you." "Madam, when I am placed in a chair, I conclude I am to sit in it,"—and other sons and daughters, nineteen in all, who peopled the house, enlivened the precincts, and frequented the convenient adjacent garden. Turning to the right on leaving the portico, a door, of which the thick oak planks are unimpaired, led from the front of the house into this garden. A large gateway in the same wall, and another small doorway, surmounted by a stone architrave on the east, or what is now the park side, also gave admittance to the enclosure. It was a walled garden of good size, and placed on the southern side of the court. The nails and shreds which held the fruit still linger in the old red walls, the oaken door still creaks upon its hinges, the sunshine broods upon the space, and lights up its empty corners; but the spot "where once the garden smiled" is disused and deserted, and all that now adjoins it is the dilapidated side of a wing belonging to the present house, which was half destroyed by fire some years ago, and whose blank windows look down in kindred forlornness upon the scene beneath.

Some further slight record remains of the early education

of Sir Robert Walpole, who was the third son of this family, but who, surviving the brothers born before him, became eventually heir to the estates. Besides the traditional instructions of his grandfather Sir Jeffery Burwell, a "horn book" now at Houghton, bound in white parchment, and filled with childish attempts at arithmetic, suggests the tedious process by which the elements of that science were acquired which afterwards developed into the calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The story has also been handed down, that later he was sent daily to Massingham on a pony, a distance of about five miles, to receive lessons in reading, writing, and arithmetic, given in a room over the church porch of that place, when some village *savant* "taught his little school."

The situation of Houghton, from the vicinity of the village, was then more cheerful than now, when the magnificent monotony of the park is unbroken save by the house itself. At the end of the seventeenth century, and up to 1729, the village lay around the church, and very near the house. The foundations of the houses are traceable; the well is to be seen; the cross stands there now, its pedestal worn on the west side into hollows by the kneeling worshippers; and the church was then undefaced by the tasteless later additions to the tower. The removal of the village of Houghton, from its situation within the park and around the church, was one of the changes afterwards made by Sir Robert Walpole; a record of which is to be found in the parish register: "July 4, 1729, the foundation was dug for the two first houses of the new town."

It has been often stated that this depopulation of the familiar site suggested to Goldsmith the idea of his "Deserted Village."⁵ The truth possibly is that this event at Houghton, which happened forty years before the "Deserted Village"

⁵ Besides the popular statement, the assertion that such was the case has been transmitted by successive possessors of Houghton.

was written, came to the knowledge of Goldsmith in the course of his researches into such subjects, and furnished some of the details which were worked into his poem. There were, certainly, in the removal of the houses, some cases of hardship involved. Hints have survived of shattered homes and broken hearts; instances are given of families deprived of their fragment of land, and their family homestead; not far from the hall is a field, and the outlines of the foundations of a house, still called "Naboth's Vineyard," from the tradition of its owner's misfortunes; and, notwithstanding the softening circumstances that the new village was established a short distance only from the original spot, (but outside the park gates, and much further from the church), and that the houses were commodiously built, and probably superior to the older ones, it is not unlikely that Goldsmith alluded to Sir Robert Walpole in certain lines towards the close of his poem of the "Traveller," on the same subject afterwards developed in the "Deserted Village," which depict with singular exactness the process that took place at Houghton. X

"Have we not seen
 Seen opulence, her grandeur to maintain,
 Lead stern depopulation in her train,
 And over fields where scattered hamlets rose,
 In barren solitary pomp repose?
 Have we not seen, at pleasure's lordly call,
 The smiling long-frequented village fall?"

The sympathy of Goldsmith with the wrongs of those he considered oppressed is well known: he held the opinion that a poet should "address popular sympathies, study the people, and, above all, the joys and sorrows of the poor;" these principles are immortalized as his own in the "Deserted Village," which, so far as such inspired verse can fulfil the very secondary purpose of pointing a moral, may be said, generally, to be written to embody the complaint of the

poor, and to condemn the abuse of power; although the lesson really conveyed would rather be to remind Progress, in its aspirations after final good, of the temporary suffering inflicted by its footstep during the march towards success.

For the purpose of gathering the facts necessary for the carrying out of his purpose, Goldsmith made many excursions into different parts of England. In his letter to Sir Joshua Reynolds, prefixed to the poem of the "Deserted Village," he says: "How far you may be pleased with the versification and mere mechanical parts of this attempt, I do not pretend to inquire; but I know you will object that the depopulation it deplures is nowhere to be seen, and the disorders it laments are only to be found in the poet's own imagination. To this I can scarce make any other answer than that I sincerely believe what I have written, and that I have taken all possible pains in my country excursions, for these four or five years past, to be certain of what I allege; and that all my views and enquiries have led me to believe those miseries real, which I here attempt to display." The Irish village of Lissoy, in West Meath, claims to be identified with "Sweet Auburn:" it was the place in which the childhood of Goldsmith was passed, and underwent changes of a kind similar to those at Houghton; but the passages in the poem indicative of personal attachment towards the locality described, on which the supposed identity is based, are no more to be taken literally and autobiographically in this instance than in the many other poems where individual sentiment is assumed and expressed by the writer; and the many country excursions, extending over several years, to which Goldsmith refers as yielding materials for his poem, the character of its descriptions, so essentially English, the numerous lines which apply so fitly to Houghton, such as the description of the village inn, the allusions to the greatness and power of the possessor of the land,—justify the conjecture that, in the

composition of the "Deserted Village," recollections of the traditions of Houghton may have been woven into the substance of the poet's tale, and that the distinct and tender colours of that exquisite *genre* picture may not impossibly represent for us the bygone joys and sorrows of the Norfolk hamlet.

The "Deserted Village" was published in May, 1770,—
 "This day at 12 will be published, price two shillings,
 The Deserted Village, a Poem, by Doctor Goldsmith."—
 (*Public Advertiser* of May 26th, 1770)—twenty-five years
 after the death of Sir Robert Walpole. There appears to
 have been some prejudice in Goldsmith's mind against the
 great man, which was expressed in occasional sarcasms, and
 which was perhaps the cause of the dislike evinced by
 Horace Walpole towards Goldsmith. These two were, not-
 withstanding, often together, and their frequent intercourse
 is alluded to from time to time in the letters of the former.

To return, however, to an earlier period,—before the
 poetry of Goldsmith or the *Letters* of his contemporary
 had enlivened the world, and to continue the picture of
 Houghton at the end of the previous century,—the back-
 ground of the sketch is filled in for us by the indications
 of the old map before referred to, which gives the relative
 position of house, roads, village, and church; and the figures
 in the foreground are completed by the addition to their
 number of a member of another Norfolk family, whose
 history is almost as long and as interesting as that of the
 Walpoles themselves.

At this period, Robert Walpole, the father of Sir Robert,
 had been left guardian to the child of his friend and
 neighbour, Horatio, first Viscount Townshend, who died in
 1687, leaving his son heir of Raynham at the age of
 thirteen. The beautiful house on that estate, finished by
 his grandfather Sir Roger Townshend about 1620, built
 in a style both picturesque and stately, on a plan at once

spacious and compact, much exceeded the abode at Houghton, at the time in question, in size and importance. There is no known connection between the Townshends and Walpoles before this time, but both families had run almost parallel, as it were, for many hundred years in Norfolk; both tracing back their descent to an early period; both possessing neighbouring estates in unbroken succession from the thirteenth century; both in the course of their family annals, taking part and rendering service, by means of the resources of their own locality, in public and political events, especially during the changes of the seventeenth century; both acquiring peerages; both gradually culminating in importance until the eighteenth century, when the most noted members of each family, Sir Robert Walpole, Horace Walpole, Charles second Viscount Townshend, and Charles Townshend, his grandson, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, raised their respective houses to the brightest epoch of their history.

The young Viscount Townshend, who was left under the care of Robert Walpole, and who eventually became distinguished, first, as the Ambassador of Queen Anne at the Hague, and afterwards as Secretary of State in the reign of George I., would seem, early in life, according to the account given of him by Coxe, to have been desirous to ally himself with the family of his guardian. But the guardian and father "invariably refused his consent to the marriage of his daughter Dorothy with Charles Lord Viscount Townshend, lest he should be suspected of forming a match so advantageous to his family by improper means." As, however, at the time of her father's death in 1700, Dorothy was scarcely fifteen, the idea must have been rather a premature one; Lord Townshend it appears was twelve years older than herself, and married his first wife in 1699; after her death, he returned to his former attachment, and his alliance with the Walpoles finally took place in July,

1713. Dorothy, who was at the time of her marriage about twenty-six years old, is well known by means of the three or four pictures in Norfolk, and elsewhere, which have handed down her beauty, giving to this daughter of the Walpoles a somewhat prominent place among their family portraits. The one at Houghton represents her as of slender figure and bright brunette complexion, with the dark eyes and expressive countenance which were also characteristic of her brother, Sir Robert. The dark background, the blue-green dress, the brown abundant hair, the brilliant colouring of the flesh tints, make up a pleasant picture; there is another, which was in the collection at Strawberry Hill, with the same gaiety of expression; but that at Raynham, taken later in life, gives an altogether different impression, still beautiful, but the youthful aspect gone, and changed for a preoccupied melancholy look, which it is supposed that the circumstances of her life contributed to justify.

It seems impossible to reconcile the tradition at Raynham of the harsh conduct of her husband, and the suspicion of a violent death, with the historical account given of her, which is as follows:—

“During Mr. Walpole’s continuance in England, he experienced a domestic misfortune in the decease of his sister, Lady Townshend, who died of the smallpox, on the 29th of March, 1726. This elegant and accomplished woman was a severe loss to her husband and family; she greatly contributed, by her engaging manners, to enliven the fatigue of business, in which Lord Townshend was involved. Though educated in the country, and unaccustomed, till her marriage, to the manners of a Court, she soon acquired great ease and address; and, when she accompanied her husband to Hanover, ‘gave,’ as Lord Waldegrave expresses himself in a letter to Mr. Walpole, ‘with so much good humour into the ways of the country, that she pleased everybody to admiration.—Hanover, Dec. 19th, 1725.’

“Her death was the greatest misfortune at this critical juncture, on account of the growing misunderstanding between Lord Townshend and Sir Robert Walpole, which her influence with her husband and

brother had greatly contributed to diminish. She died in the 40th year of her age, generally and justly lamented for her uncommon merit, and the accomplishments that adorned her mind as well as her person."—*Coxe's Life of Horatio Lord Walpole*, p. 111.

Whatever the causes may have been which suggested the very different traditional story in the Townshend family, and gave rise to the vague tale of the mysterious immurement, the mock funeral, the restless lady haunting at dusk the oak staircase at Raynham, this description seems rather to give the impression that the life of Dorothy Walpole was a prospered one, her career successful, and her death, much regretted, caused by an ordinary illness.

After her death, Lord Townshend's differences with Sir Robert Walpole gradually became more definite; they are attributed to private causes, as well as to political jealousy, and ended in the breach which probably strengthened Lord Townshend's resolution to pass the remainder of his life, after his resignation in 1729, in the seclusion of Raynham.

The history of Sir Robert Walpole is too recent and too well known, to find a place in an archæological journal: his childhood at Houghton,—his inheritance of the estate and his marriage in the same year, 1700,—his election for Lynn in 1702,—his demolition of the old house and village,—his building of the new house,—his decoration of this with the famous gallery of pictures, are matters of local interest which gather round, and grow out of, any notice of the place; such are also the suggestions of his life and doings during his frequent residences; but his political career, the admiration and the obloquy which have alike attached themselves to his name; his vicissitudes of fortune during the reign of Anne; his devotion to the house of Hanover; his long tenure of power, as head of the governments of George I. and George II., from 1721 to 1742; his influence with Queen Caroline; his friendship with

✱ Marlborough; his vigour in resisting the antagonism of Bolingbroke, of Carteret, of the Prince of Wales; his tendency to a peaceful and benign policy; his inconsistency in the question of the Spanish war; his system of securing the votes of the House of Commons; the opposition and censure he incurred, whether justly or not, in consequence of that system; his resignation in 1742, and retirement into private life for good,—are all particulars which belong to the public and national annals of that time, and form a part of the chronicle of England during the last century, but which enhance immeasurably the interest of Houghton, and invest it with the dignity of historical ground.

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Sir Robert was made Earl of Orford on quitting the ministry, and spent the last years of his life mainly at Houghton. His occupations and amusements at this time, and still more during previous periods of his residence at Houghton, are clearly enough indicated. The long journey from London—broken by the arrival at Swaffham, where Sturge, his Norfolk runner, a Houghton man, met the travellers, and, dressed in flannel and belted, ran with a lighted torch in his hand, in front of the carriage, all the way to Houghton—almost justified the dread with which Horace Walpole anticipated these pilgrimages. “I am settling my affairs, not that I am going to be married or to die, but something as bad as either: you will guess that it can only be going to Houghton.” Sir Robert, however, was of a different opinion, and frequented, filled, and enlivened Houghton with a relish and goodwill of which there are abundant traces. His expresses to London were despatched by the trusty messenger just described, who performed the long distance on foot, whilst his master and the guests were laying bets upon his chances of getting over the ground, and the time of his return. These guests were occasionally royal personages: a letter in the possession of a gentleman in Norfolk gives an account of a visit of the 9

Grand Duke of Tuscany to Houghton,⁶ when the cavalcade of visitors and gentry going out hunting could "only be compared to an army in its march."⁷ There was stabling at Houghton for eighty horses: the characteristic picture of Sir Robert in hunting costume, standing by the side of his horse, preserves a memorial of these animated days. The parties at Houghton, consisting of political and local guests, were kept up with a festivity suited to the humour of the host. Bull-baiting was one of the amusements carried on, on a large space of grass south of the house, which still shews remains of the arrangements requisite for the sport. The large punch glasses, ten or twelve inches high, with diameter in proportion, which are now ranged innocently on the shelves of the china room, bring visions of lavish feasts. There is a strange little room at the back of a servants' hall, opening out of it by a door close to the chimney, called the "Sots' Hole," where the drunken footmen were thrown, to recover themselves, and to become fitted anew to assist their scarcely more sober masters.

Quieter moments, nevertheless, had their turn; days in which the amusements of Sir Robert were limited to superintending the planting of the park, or to watching the growth of the avenues of beech-trees whose rich foliage and grand marbled stems are now so noticeable; making these home excursions by the aid of the familiar relic now in the lumber-room over the stables, a ponderous gig, lined with green velvet, wheelless and shaftless, but with the arms and order of the Bath emblazoned on either side.

On these quieter days, too, were arranged, with the help of his son Horace, the many pictures bought by Sir Robert at different times, and transferred by him from

⁶ His Royal Highness, Francis, Duke of Lorraine, afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany.

⁷ The extract is furnished by the Rev. J. H. Broome, to whom the letter had been communicated.

Downing Street^{*} and Arlington Street to Houghton; and the valuable collection of books in the library, mostly placed there by himself, many of them choice presentation copies, were, although he made no profession of scholarship, looked over or studied, to judge by the fragments of his handwriting in some of them. One of these books, *Marcelli Malpighii, Philosophi, Dissertatio, &c.*, contains, in his clear and excellent handwriting, the inscription,—“Ex dono amplissimi viri Georgii Seignior.—R. Walpole.”

More sombre days there were too; when the illness was coming on which gradually vanquished even his spirits and constitution, and from which he died about three years after his exit from public life. The details of the illness are touchingly given in Horace Walpole's letters of the spring of 1745; his death took place in London, but his funeral, like those of all his lineal predecessors, was solemnized at Houghton, where the stone in the church beneath which the remains of that stirring brain and vigorous hand lie quiet and cold, is, unaccountably enough, unadorned by any inscription. The spot where his coffin stands in the vault,—surrounded by six others, those of his two wives, of his daughter, of his two sons, Robert and Horace, and his grandson George, a mute family reunion,—is known and identified; his reputation is too fresh and great for such a shrine to be as yet forgotten, but his most striking monument at Houghton is certainly the house which he built,—the record of his mind, of his ambition, of his tastes,—whose size and beauty completely overshadow and eclipse the very unassuming edifice whose humbler function it is to shelter his dust and ashes.

^{*} “The house in Downing Street belonged to the Crown; King George the First gave it to Baron Bothmar, the Hanoverian Minister, for life. On his death, King George the Second offered it to Sir Robert Walpole, but he would only accept it for his office of First Lord of the Treasury, to which post he got it annexed for ever.”—*Ædes Walpoleana*.

The house at Houghton bears over the door the following inscription :—

“ Robertvs Walpole
Has ÆDES
Anno 1722
Inchoavit
Anno 1735
Perfecit.”

The great size of the fabric, the large proportion of underground brickwork, the amount of stone decoration on the outside, the perfect construction and finished workmanship of the numberless interior mahogany fittings, make it easy to see that these thirteen years must have been fully occupied in the progress and completion of this house. The shape of the building, with its four corners crowned with domes of stone, and the long extensive wings deploying from each side, is impressive; its two magnificent fronts (in spite of the absence from them of the exterior flights of steps) appear more beautiful at this day than at first; the summers and winters that have passed over them have gilded and enriched the grey tints of the stone, and the house combines happily with the dignified avenues whose trees have now assumed such noble dimensions.

The pictures were placed in the gallery in 1743: Horace Walpole describes the process—“ My lord is going to furnish and hang the picture gallery. Who could ever suspect any connection between painting and the wilds of Norfolk? There are several pictures undisposed of, besides numbers at Lord Walpole’s, at the Exchequer, at Chelsea, at New Park. The Domenichino is delightful. My father is as much transported with it as I am. It is hung in the gallery, where are all his most capital pictures, and he himself thinks it beats all but the two Guidos. The gallery was illuminated (on some special occasion): it is incredible what a magnificent appearance it made. There were sixty-four candles, which

showed all the pictures to great advantage." The collection included some of the choicest pictures of the Flemish, Dutch, Spanish, and various Italian Schools, and was so extensive as to furnish not only the gallery, but most of the principal apartments. Besides the well-known catalogue of Horace Walpole, in the *Ædes Walpolianæ*, a description of these pictures is given in the history of a tour made in Norfolk by William Gilpin, Prebendary of Salisbury,⁹ just before the collection was removed from Houghton, and he adds in a subsequent chapter a list of them, with the prices which were given for them when they were sold. George, Earl of Orford, the grandson of Sir Robert, to enrich himself, and prop up his somewhat impaired fortunes, impoverished Norfolk to a lamentable extent, by the sale, in 1769, to the Empress Catherine of Russia of these fine pictures, which had adorned Houghton during the middle of the century. They were transferred to St. Petersburg, and now decorate the walls of a gallery in one of the imperial palaces.

To give a detailed list of these departed treasures of Norfolk would be too tantalizing; even archæology, skilled though it is in discovery, magic though its touch may be in unfolding, to the uninitiated eye, the statue hidden in the stone, or the gem of the leaden casket, cannot charm back into our presence that which has left no outward trace or indication; its province is stern fact; it deals with the revelations of the actual; and the impression therefore of the lovely forms of Guido, Rafaele, and Murillo, of the supreme colouring of Titian and Veronese, of the startling force of Rembrandt, and the bounteous glory of Rubens, must fade and disappear, undetained. In spite of the uncivil remark before quoted, the wilds of Norfolk and their savage inhabitants can admire and assimilate art; and the pictures

⁹ *Observations on Several Parts of the Counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, and Suffolk, Essex, and North Wales, in Two Tours in 1769 and 1773, by William Gilpin.*

which have been relegated to imperial care, and to a still bleaker climate, would have glowed under a brighter sunshine, and a no less warm appreciation, had they remained undisturbed.

The vacancies on the walls are now supplied with pictures of a very different calibre, although some few among them bear the immortal touch of the great masters. Such are, Vandyck's picture of the "Marriage of St. Catherine;" the "Holy Family" of Titian; a small "Holy Family" by Rafaele; a full-length picture by Sir Joshua Reynolds; a Claude, and one or two landscapes and sea pieces.

Besides these are some interesting pictures of a different kind: the "Fortune-teller," by Opie; a family group by Hogarth; and a collection of portraits in the ground-floor parlours of the house.

The places of some of the departed pictures are said to have been refilled by Horace Walpole, who, however, in spite of his veneration for Sir Robert, took little practical interest in Houghton, the situation and surroundings of which were too entirely antagonistic to the habits and occupations of his life. Yet, when depreciating that situation, he might have reflected that Norfolk, although a county apart from any great centre of education, and remote from the busy world of books, of art, of cultivated men, had produced simultaneously in Sir Robert Walpole and his brother-in-law, men whose powers were universally recognized, and whose range of daily interest embraced more than half the world; and that he himself, with all his pride in his own fastidiousness, was actually born and reared in that desert, where the very squires seemed cut out of their own roast beef, and "only roughly hewn into the outlines of the human figure," and to visit which he makes as many preparations "as if he were going to Jamaica."

window. In this room the above letter was written to Mr. Montagu; the window looks straight out at the church, which is about three hundred yards distant—the staircase leading up to the clock-tower was just at Horace Walpole's right hand, outside the bed-room door. The room at this day, with its low window, with the adjacent church and the trees of the park full in view, with the recurring clang of the clock close by, seems haunted by the image of the frail figure sitting solitary in the midst of his melancholy grandeur, looking from the window at the church where his mother lay buried, and listening to the clock striking in the tower; and nothing appears more natural and irresistible than the tone of the thoughts and feelings poured out by him on such a spot in the letter to his friend. What a contrast to his wonted gossiping effusions; to the stir of London; to the trifles of Strawberry Hill! even he, to whom "small things always appeared great, and great things small," seems for once to have been arrested into some sense of reality, under the spell of the associations surrounding him. Horace Walpole lived for thirty-six years from the time this letter was written, and, after his funeral in 1797, the family vault was finally closed. For the last eighty years the stillness of death has been undisturbed in that underground chamber, except on one occasion. The coffins of the four earls (all placed there in the space of fifty-two years) are described by the visitor who then examined them; that of Sir Robert inscribed with all his honours; his own and that of Horace covered with black velvet, the others with mouldering crimson, fragments of which, with the coronets which were placed on the coffins, lay scattered on the floor.

The deaths of the two wives of Sir Robert Walpole took place curiously near together. The inscriptions are: Catherine, died August 1737, aged 55; Maria, March 1738, aged 36. A very narrow coffin, that of Catherine Walpole,

a daughter, who died of consumption, and was the first to occupy the new vault, made in 1722, completes the series.¹

The older vault is under the chancel, and on the floor of the chancel are many interesting tombstones, forming almost a genealogy of the earlier members of the family. The church belonged to the priory of Cokesford, not far distant, once a flourishing convent, now only recalled to memory by the grey ruin whose skeleton walls are to be seen between Rudham and Houghton.

There is a monument in Houghton church of a prior of Cokesford, which is said to have been transferred to this church from the priory at the time of the Dissolution. This effigy, a recumbent figure the size of life, carved in gray marble, dressed in the Augustine garb, lying on a marble coffin,—a cross clasped to its breast, and crushing a demon beneath its feet,—lies in antique dignity above the bones of the Walpoles. Its personality must remain unknown, as the monument is nameless and without date: the possibility has been suggested that the individual commemorated may have been himself a Walpole; if so, his memorial adds that touch of sanctity to the family scene, which the other tombs in the church, superior as they are in human and historical interest, are perhaps less calculated to convey. But whether related or not, the mediæval priest and the modern statesman now rest in quiet partnership; the confidence expressed by the latter (contained in the inscription on the foundation stone of the house which he built) that he would never be forgotten by his descendants,—the wish that his children's children, after he should be "set free," should continue to possess that house,—have hitherto been justified and fulfilled; but the earthly honours and powers which were invested in the lord of the manor, as in the

¹ Sir Robert Walpole's other daughter, Mary, married Viscount Malpas, son of the Earl of Cholmondeley: from her descends, in direct line, the present owner of Houghton.

abbot of the monastery, have alike slipped from their grasp, and have left these very diverse companions, who "could carry nothing away" of the goods of this world, in the possession only of the one inalienable and the best of gifts, that of their own entity,—acknowledged and described for them in the appropriate couplet of Pope—

"Let lands and houses have what lords they will,
Let Us be fixed, and our own Masters still!"

please let Dr Jessopp have a dozen
copies for himself -

press

Bowthorpe Hall.

A PAPER READ AT THE EXCURSION MEETING, SEPT. 20, 1877.

X X

BY -

THE REV. AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.

THERE is a certain measure of romance about the place in which we are now assembled ; and as very little is to be found in the ordinary histories and guide books which concerns either the actual Hall or Church of Bowthorpe, or the families which at one time possessed the estate, I believe it will interest those members of our Society who are present, and perhaps some of those who are unavoidably absent, if I take occasion by our visit here to bring to light some matters which are more or less connected with the former dwellers in this parish, and which have come to my notice during the course of my researches into Norfolk history.

When Queen Mary died in 1558 her prime favourites and chief advisers were those gentlemen of the Eastern Counties who played so very important a part in placing her upon the throne. But for the loyal exertions of Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir Henry Bedingfield, the Petres, the Cornwallises, the Waldegraves, and other powerful gentlemen in Suffolk, Essex, and Norfolk, Mary's chance of the Crown would have been seriously lessened.

But all these gentlemen were staunch Catholics, and some of them earnest, devout, and conscientious Catholics,

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to whom the Roman Creed and the Roman Ritual were as dear as anything upon earth. As they had been true to Queen Mary, so she was true to them, and to the last we find them all high in her favour and bountifully rewarded for their loyalty. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the favourites of Mary were, as a matter of course, displaced, and almost all retired from the court and went back to their residences in the country. One of the first Acts passed in the first Parliament of Queen Elizabeth was that one which enacted that the Book of Common Prayer alone should be used; and to "sing or say any common or open prayer, or to minister any sacrament otherwise than is mentioned in the said book" subjected the offender to forfeiture of his goods, and on a repetition of his offence to imprisonment for life. This Act was passed in 1558. In the year 1561, three years after the passing of the Act, information was given to the Council that certain priests had celebrated a mass at the house of Sir Edward Waldegrave, at Borley in Essex, at which there had been present Sir Edward Waldegrave and his wife, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Thomas Stradling, Mr. Robert Downes of Melton, and several others whose names are given; and upon this information the whole party were committed to various prisons, Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady being confined in the Tower.

Sir Edward was in bad health at the time, and his imprisonment killed him: he died in the Tower on the 1st September, 1561, leaving as the heir to his large estates his son Charles Waldegrave, a boy of ten or eleven years old. The lad was entrusted to the guardianship of Dean Nowell's brother, Robert Nowell, who bought his ward (after the fashion of the time) much as a man would buy a sheep or a horse; and when Nowell himself died in 1569, he left his charge to Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, as a handsome legacy in return for favours received.

Immediately after Charles Waldegrave came of age, viz., *over*

on the 25th November, 1571, he obtained a license from Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, to marry Jeronyma daughter of Sir Henry Jerningham of Cossey, and thereupon took up his abode at Cossey Hall with his wife's parents. Sir Henry Jerningham died in the September of the following year, and as his son Henry made Wingfield Castle his place of residence, Mr. and Mrs. Waldegrave continued to live with Lady Jerningham till her death in December, 1583. Hereupon Mr. Jerningham settled at Cossey, and Mr. Waldegrave took up his abode at Bowthorpe Hall. Bowthorpe Hall at this time was the property of the Yaxleys of Yaxley, a wealthy Suffolk family, staunch Catholics, and stubborn Recusants. One of these Yaxleys (John) was living at Colney in 1584, and was presented as a Recusant among other people at the sessions held at Dereham on the 30th September of that year. (

In 1583 John Waldegrave, son of Charles and Jeronyma, was born at Bowthorpe, his elder brother Charles having been born at Cossey in 1581.

The authority for these dates is to be found in the remarkable series of answers to the questions addressed to the applicants for admission to the English College at Rome, transcripts of which are now among the Rolls MSS. in London. How long the Waldegraves continued to live at Bowthorpe I am unable to say, but it was probably for about six or seven years; for about the year 1590 to 1592 Mr. Waldegrave purchased the estate of Stanninghall, where he lived till his death in 1632.

Mr. Waldegrave, though by conviction and sympathy a Catholic, yet appears *not* to have been a Recusant at the time that he was living at Bowthorpe; he certainly became one, and a very staunch one, afterwards. His son assures us that at the end of Elizabeth's reign his parents were "schismatics," i.e., they did not refuse to attend their parish church, and so could not be "presented." But the fact is that at this time the Catholic gentry had invented a

over!

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somewhat shrewd way of getting over the difficulty. *If the parish church was in ruins a man could not attend it.* Accordingly, in a very large number of cases, the churches were deliberately and of set purpose reduced to a ruinous state; and at the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign this church of Bowthorpe was actually a ruin—the nave a barn, the steeple a dovecot. Cossey Church was in ruins; so was Easton, so was Earlham, so was Runhall, so was Stanninghall; so were an incredible number of other churches in the county, where the landlords were Recusants and powerful enough to carry things with a high hand.

Did these Catholic gentry live like heathen then? Certainly not. In the year 1582 an informer gave intelligence to the Lords of the Council, that at Cossey there were living as Catholics, the Lady Jerningham, Mr. Charles Waldegrave and his wife and Mr. Pratt, a priest. This explains why there are no entries of Waldegrave or Jerningham baptisms in the Cossey register: the priest baptized them. When it came to dying it was another affair. Mr. Pratt himself died at Cossey; his burial is duly recorded. [17 April, 1582.]

I assume that Mr. Waldegrave lived at Bowthorpe Hall till 1590 or 1592. While he lived there he had with him a large family, three were sons: Edward (the ancestor of the present Earl of Waldegrave) Charles, and John.

In the autumn of the year 1588, there landed on the coast of Norfolk, a Jesuit priest named John Gerard; from his brother is descended the present Lady Stafford of Cossey. He was a man of very remarkable powers in more ways than one, and his influence upon the Catholic gentry in Norfolk and Suffolk was enormous. There are reasons for believing that he was received as a guest at Cossey. It is certain that he was harboured at Kimberley; it is more than probable that

he was a visitor at Melton and Bowthorpe Hall. Edward Waldegrave—Clarendon's staunch old Royalist—cared little for him or his agents. But the two younger brothers became in process of time powerfully impressed, not by Gerard himself indeed, but by two Jesuit fathers who were closely connected with him, and doubtless duly instructed how to make their approaches.

The result was, that Charles Waldegrave the younger was reconciled to the Church of Rome towards the end of Elizabeth's reign by Father Henry Floyd or Fludd, S.J., and John Waldegrave was reconciled by Father Stanny at the beginning of the reign of James I. Charles actually became a Jesuit father. John received priest's orders, and returned to England to die within a mile or so of his birth-place, being buried at Cossey on the 3rd March, 1616-17.

When Mr. Waldegrave removed to Stanninghall, one of the Yaxleys occupied Bowthorpe Hall. This was Henry Yaxley, Esq. He married Frances,¹ a daughter of Mr. Waldegrave, and was as stubborn a Recusant as others of his family. I am inclined to think that he must have lived with his wife's parents in the old house until they removed to Stanninghall.

In 1614, he, with his wife Frances, five daughters, three men servants, and a tutor named Bullen, were presented to the Bishop as Popish Recusants at Bowthorpe. I have a strong suspicion (though I am not yet in a position to prove it) that this tutor Bullen was none other than that very Father Henry Floyd whom Charles Waldegrave the younger (brother-in-law of Mr. Yaxley) tells us was the instrument of his own conversion to the Church of Rome. Father Floyd certainly went by a number of *aliases*—Smith, Rivers, Seymour, among the number,—and certainly too, some years after this, and when Mr. Yaxley had succeeded to the Suffolk property and removed from Bowthorpe to

¹ Probably in 1600.—Blomefield, ii. 387.

Yaxley Hall, one of the professional spies in a letter to the King, Charles I., asserts that Father Floyd had transported two daughters of Mr. Yaxley to Gravelines in Belgium, "for," he adds, "this Smith [who was undoubtedly Father Floyd] at that time lived with Mr. Yaxley and was his priest."

Unfortunately the last list of presentments of Popish Recusants in the Bishop's Registry is of the date 1616, so that it is impossible to say when Mr. Yaxley removed from Bowthorpe to Suffolk, but it was certainly before 1632; and who then occupied the old hall, or if anyone did, I have not ascertained, but just at this time another incident, of some importance to the parish, is recorded. In the summer of 1635 died Richard Corbet, Bishop of Norwich. To him succeeded, on the 10th November, Matthew Wren, who had been promoted to the bishopric of Hereford not a year before. If Wren were a narrow bigot, and a stiff, uncompromising, and intolerant High Churchman, as the Puritans represent him to have been, he certainly was not a lax administrator of his diocese; and if he were a merciless persecutor of the Puritans, he was not a whit less severe upon the Romanists. On his coming to his diocese, and in fact apparently before he had had time to know much about it, he scared and startled his clergy by the astonishing vigour which he displayed. He found a certain Dr. Rawley to be Parson of Bowthorpe, but the living was a sinecure. Dr. Rawley had held it for twenty-three years, and probably had scarcely ever shewn his face in the parish. The bishop discovered that the church was in ruins, and that there had been no Divine Service in it for forty years at least. With characteristic promptness he seems to have compelled Dr. Rawley to commence a suit in the Court of Chancery against Mr. H. Yaxley, to compel him to put the church in repair, and actually obtained an order from the court in the plaintiff's favour three days after he had himself been formally elected to his bishopric.

By this order of the 13th November, 10 Chas. I., the impropriate tithes and glebe lands of the parish were put in sequestration for three years, to defray the expenses of the necessary repairs. Competent workmen were to send in an estimate of the cost of such repairs, and the work was to be completed by Midsummer, 1639. The estimate is as follows :

The opinion of Workmen for y^e repairing of y^e Church and Steeple of Bowthorpe, and Fencing in of y^e Church-yard, taken y^e 28th day of May, 1636, by y^e appointment of M^r. Chancellor, who was there present with y^e workmen y^e same day.

For y ^e Fencing in of y ^e Churchyard with Riven Pale, conteyning about 28 Rod in compass .	£14
For Repairing y ^e Walls of y ^e Church, putting in 4 Windows in y ^e Church and one window in y ^e Steeple	£13
For a door into y ^e Church and a Porch full finished	£20
For paving, ceiling, and whiting y ^e Church .	£15
For Finishing y ^e Steeple with Mason's work within	£2
For covering the Church with reed, with all charges belonging to it	£20
For ironwork about y ^e Church and Steeple .	£10
For glazing the 4 windows in y ^e Church and one window in y ^e Steeple	£8
For a Font in y ^e Church	£4
For a desk and pulpit and seats in y ^e Church .	£12
For a bell and a frame	£13 6 8
	<u>£131 6 8</u>

Richard Starling, Carpenter.
 John Mixar, Mason.
 Ambroze Jerenige, Smith.
 Thomas B. Biggott, Mason.
 Paffreamare Sheffield, Carpenter.
 William W. Foster, Glasier.
 Thomas † Chaplyn, Reeder.
 John Brend, Bellfounder.

It seems that Mr. Yaxley paid no attention to the order; and in the spring of 1637 the bishop sent down a peremptory letter to his chancellor, calling upon him to summon Mr. Yaxley to appear in his court, and on pain of excommunication to proceed at once with the repairs, and make due provision for the celebration of Divine Service in the church once a month at the least. The order appears to have been complied with, and for another century Bowthorpe church was used as a place of worship, and the churchyard as the burying-place of the Yallop family.

But how did the estate pass to the Yallops? The answer to that question appertains to the realm of the undiscovered, though I do not despair of being able to throw light upon that matter, too, some day.

Blomefield tells us that the Yaxleys made over Bowthorpe to one Browne of Colney, but that one of the family afterwards conveyed it to Sir Robert Yallop for his good services in recovering Mr. Yaxley's estate from the aforesaid Browne.

Now it is a well-established fact that in those hard times, when no Roman Catholic could make a will or own a horse worth more than £5, and could hardly hold or inherit property at all, the persecuted Recusants managed to retain their estates by every kind of device which they could invent for defeating the hard pressure of the law. It was a very common practice for them to make over their lands, not only to trustees for their own use—for in that case the statutes still could be enforced and their rents impounded—but they conveyed them to friends or kinsfolk who were themselves conformists, and to whose honour and good faith they trusted themselves absolutely. I believe that one of these days I shall be able to prove that such was the case with this estate of Bowthorpe,—that it was made over to Brown in honourable trust, and that he violated or attempted to violate that trust, and tried to keep the

estate to himself; that Sir Robert Yallop managed to defeat his roguery, and that the gift of Bowthorpe was the price paid for the recovery of that and other lands.

When Sir Robert Yallop obtained possession of Bowthorpe he appears to have rebuilt or very considerably added to the old hall. The present house is of the seventeenth not the sixteenth century.

* * * * *

At this point I close my small contribution to the history of Bowthorpe. It would be easy to say more. It has been difficult for me to confine myself to saying so little in saying anything at all.

[I have printed this Paper exactly as it was read before the Members of the Society at Bowthorpe. I have not thought it necessary to support the assertions by referring specifically to my sources of information. In fact it would be idle to do so, inasmuch as they are accessible to very few. The *Recusant Rolls* in the S. P. O., the *Presentments of Recusants* in the Bishop's Registry, the *Tanner MSS.*, the *Marriage Licenses* in the Registry, the *Sessions Books* for the County of Norfolk, in the custody of the Clerk of the Peace at the Shirehall, and other MSS. in the S. P. O. and Rolls House, are my chief authorities, and they will be found referred to by chapter and verse in my forthcoming work, "*One Generation of a Norfolk House.*"—A. J.]

Herbert de Lozinga :

AN INQUIRY AS TO HIS COGNOMEN AND BIRTHPLACE.

COMMUNICATED BY

EDWARD MILLIGEN BELOE, ESQ.

THE surname "Lozinga" of our first and greatest Bishop of Norwich and the place of his birth have been the subject of much discussion. I propose to state the facts which seem to show the derivation of the one, and to fix the locality of the other.

It will be seen at once that "surname"¹ is not the English equivalent for "cognomen":—"surname," the name which is derived from the father; "cognomen," an additon used with the actual name. In popular language surname is used to express both senses, and I shall so use it in this paper, leaving it to the context to explain its exact meaning.

We will first set out shortly the principal authorities from which we derive our account of Herbert de Lozinga, limiting the extracts strictly to the two subjects of our inquiry.

William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum*:² "Her-

¹ Johnson derives it from the French, *surnom*, which brings it nearer to the meaning of *cognomen*.

² M. R. series, p. 151.

bertus cognomento Losinga, quod ei ars adulationis im-
pegerat, patre suo ejusdem cognominis." The same words
are used by Malmesbury in *De Regibus*, and by Florence of
Worcester, excepting that the latter substitutes in error
"nuper egerat" for "impegerat."

Matthew of Westminster takes his account of Herbert
word for word from Malmesbury, omitting the "adulation."

Henry of Huntingdon says of him, "Vir benignus et
doctus cujus extant scripta."

Bartholomew Cotton's account is :³ "Herbertus Willelmo
(de Belfago) successit tempore Willelmi junioris postea
abbas Ramesseye et pater suus Robertus abbas Wintoniæ.
Hic Herbertus in Pago Oxymensi natus Fiscanni monachus
translatus in Angliam a rege Willelmo."

Of the local records, the *Historia Ecclesiæ Norwicensis*
says, " . . . qui (Herbertus) Normanniæ in Pago Oximensi
natus . . . translatus in Angliam a rege Willielmo." (II.)

The *Fundationis Historia* attached to the Binham Registry:
"Post quem (William I.) regnavit Willielmus Ruffus filius
ejus qui duxit secum de Normannia in Angliam unum de
Capellanis suis Herbertum priorem de Fischampe."

And lastly, Giraldus Cambrensis: "Natus apud Exmes in
Pago Oximensi in Normannia."

There are two later authorities I would mention here:
first, Mr. Anstruther, in his *Epistolæ Herberti de Lozinga*,⁴
says in his preface, "Herbert was born in Normandy, at a
small village called Exmes (generally but erroneously named
Hiemes) in Pago Oximensi;" and, secondly, Sir T. D.
Hardy, *Cat. MSS.*,⁵ states he was born in Normandy, at a
place called Hiesmes, but neither quotes any authority.

Several writers, from the sixteenth century downwards,
have endeavoured to prove an English, and even an East

³ M. R. series, p. 389.

⁴ Brussels, 1846.

⁵ M. R. Series, vol. ii., 1865, p. 135.

Anglian origin for Herbert. For his birthplace they have gone, not to the country from which it is clearly recorded he came, but to the district where he last resided and where he died. This seems to me an inverted process of reasoning.

Herbert de Lozinga was not the only bishop in England of that name nor by many, of his country.⁶ The bishop that stands to Hereford, as Herbert does to Norwich as the great builder, was Robert Lozing. Godwin, himself bishop of Hereford, calls him Robert Lozing, and Le Neve, following him, calls him the same.⁷ Professor Stubbs, p. 22, *Reg. Sac. Ang.*,⁸ under 1079, calls him Robert Losing, as he calls Herbert, p. 23, Herbert Losing. William of Malmesbury says of him under Hereford, *Gest. Pont.*, p. 300, "Non multo post accepit sedem illam Rotbertus Lotharingus;"⁹ and he built the cathedral on the pattern of Aix. On his tomb in Hereford Cathedral, probably of the thirteenth century, he is inscribed "Dñs Robertus de Lorraine Epūs Herefordensis obiit A.D. 1095." Leland calls him in his *Itinerary* "Robertus Loreing." Browne Willis says, "Robert Losing, a native of Lorraine succeeded;"¹ and Britton, who was assisted by those having access to local records, states in his history of the cathedral, "Robert Lozing, Robert Lotharingus, or Robert of Lorraine, next succeeded, and was consecrated 1079;"² and he has since been called either Robert Losing or Robert of Lorraine by writers down to Sir G. G. Scott in his Paper on the Cathedral, read before the Institute this year.

⁶ See Letter by Professor Stubbs in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov., 1860, on "Episcopal Names of the Twelfth Century."

⁷ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. 1716, n. 108.

⁸ Lozing, not Losing, appears the correct form, and Herbert is so named in the local records.

⁹ M. R. Series, *Gest. Pont.*, p. 300.

¹ B. Willis, *Cath.*, vol. ii., p. 512.

² Britton's *Cath.*, vol. iii., p. 7.

I. The name "Lozinga" is the French form of Lotharingia³ latinised in its last syllable, and this form only obeys the well-known laws by which Latin was worn down and deteriorated into French. We have to apply four of these rules.

(1.) The tonic or accented syllable of the Latin form remains the accented syllable in French,—“the continuance of the accent is a general and absolute law,” and preserves the “ing” in Lotharingia.⁴

(2.) “The atonic syllable which directly precedes the tonic vowel always disappears in French,”—which seems to erase the first “a” in Lotharingia.⁵

(3.) “The third characteristic is the loss of the medial consonant, that is the consonant which stands between two vowels,” as the “g” in Augustus, “Aout;” “lachrymæ larmes.” This disposes of the “r” between the “a” and the “i.”⁶

(4.) “Atonic suffixes. All these suffixes disappear in French; ‘ia’ into ‘e’ as *Historia*, *Histoire*; *Britannia*, *Bretagne*.”⁷

It follows therefore that Lotharingia becomes Lothinge, the “th” and “z” being transposable, and this especially necessary to Norman writers, who could not pronounce the “th,” see Tedford; we have Lozinga and in Latin Lozinga.⁸

The appointment of Lotharingian bishops to English Sees during this and the immediate preceding period, and down

³ German, Lothringen.

⁴ Brachet, *Hist. French Grammar*, ed. 1874, p. 33.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

⁷ Brachet's *Hist. Etym. Dict.*, 1873, p. cxxii.

⁸ Latin, *Armatura*; French, *Armure*; English, *Armour*,—is an example in a word of the same number of syllables and accent as Lotharingia, and which has been reduced by the rules as noted above.

to the reign of Henry III., is an established fact ;⁹ Mr. Freeman, in his *History of the Norman Conquest*, says the first being Herrmann of Lotharingia, who in 1045 was appointed to the See of Wilton. Walcher, Bishop of Durham,¹ killed in 1080, was a Lotharingian ; and Mr. Freeman adds, "Herrmann was a Lotharingian by birth ; Leofric was equally so by education ;" and he sees in this an attempt in Godwin and the patriotic party to counter-balance the French influence of Edward.

This Lorraine, varying in its extent, and stretching from sea to sea, divided by a narrow slip Germany and what is now France, and comprised the most enthusiastic religious people of the continent ; and on the lowering of the culture of the English Church by the disorder attendant on the Danish invasion, we were glad of these men, skilled in the ritual and traditions of the Church, as bishops.²

We have collected our authorities at the commencement of this paper, and we find that the only one who gives any derivation of Herbert's surname, "Lozinga," is William of Malmesbury, the others following his lead. His words are, "quod in ars adulationis impegerat," and those are the only words. The charge of flattery must be kept distinct from the charge of simony, on which much is said by Malmesbury. He mentions in the next sentence that the father had the same cognomen as the son ; thus a manifest absurdity follows, that the father was called a flatterer because the son was so called.

His father, Robert de Lozinga, appears in the list of the

⁹ Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 243 ; Freeman, *Norm. Cong.*, vol. ii., pp. 80, 81.

¹ Florence of Worcester, under 1080.

² These bishops were probably German speaking. Was it from this that Herbert more readily learned English, and preached to the people assembled in Ely Cathedral on the removal of the relics of St. Etheldreda ?—See *Lit. Eliensis Ang. Christ.*, 1848, p. 291.

Abbots of Hyde, and it has been suggested to me by very high authority that the Epistle XIX. "Ad Robertum," evidently written to one of episcopal authority, "Ita et tu, humanissime pontifex," is addressed by Herbert to Robert de Lozinga, the Bishop of Hereford, who had the same name as Herbert's father, "et revera, quem aliquando apud Wintoniam patrem sepelivi, recenter apud Lundoniam resuscitatum inveni," and who certainly by the letter seems to have treated Herbert with paternal kindness.

The true explanation of the erroneous interpretation of this cognomen, "Lozinga," appears to be in the desire of everyone to account for a meaning to names of persons and places, the real origin of which is unknown or has been forgotten. There is a word in Ducange, "Losenge," not Lozing, and the first authority for its meaning is the quotation from Malmesbury; but it does appear that the word, or rather *Losangerie* or *lausangerie*, is rarely used to express *laus falsa*. Now Malmesbury, seeing a similarity in the name, and not being acquainted with the origin of the surname, fixes to it the meaning of the nearest word in form he knows of; and so it has been repeated over and over again, until from the sixteenth century it has formed a kind of text on which writers may dilate concerning the error of fawning and flattering princes for patronage.

But our bishop came over with Rufus before he was king. Would soft flattery and adulation serve to extract anything from that red-haired ruffian? He must have been tickled with stronger and more material instruments, and it might be that a man, conscious of his abilities, but having no chance of preferment in the Church by family connexion or patronage, might forego his right to the income of a benefice long void, and which had been seized by a dishonest king; or promise out of its first receipts to pay a sum for consideration of his appointment. This would be looked upon by monkish chroniclers as a most serious crime against

the rights of the Church. But this charge is distinct from that of flattery, which has no other basis than the few words I have quoted. Was Robert Lozing of Hereford, "a man of great piety,"³ the friend of the sainted Wolfstan, a flatterer, any more than Herbert, our great bishop, who was in 1094⁴ deprived of his pastoral staff by the king, from whom he is accused of obtaining benefits by his complaisancy?

Herbert was a man of fine presence, of courteous manners, and great eloquence, but poor: "*Desertitudinis et literarum copia nec minus secularum rerum peritia.*"⁵ He was a priest and the son of a priest, not belonging to a noble family whose wealth and connection could assist him, and yet he became a foremost bishop of his time, and was employed in most important national matters. He was a great builder, and his endowments were magnificent: on these he expended his all. This to his prior—"Vado ad curiam, pene sine equis et sine pecunia, sed deus erit comes meus, Norwicensam ecclesiam et opus ecclesiæ et meum commendo tibi, et te commendo Deo."⁶ And we now stand in the triforium of the apse which he built and look down on the chair where he sat, and until, alas! some few weeks since, on the pavement on which he walked; we think the Deity has bestowed on these men some of His own creative power. Are we to believe that the basis of all that he accomplished was the flattery of a brutal king, who knew no master but his own avarice and passion, and who, the reason not being stated, deprived him of his staff?

Herbert has now laid silent in his tomb, surrounded by

³ Florence of Worcester, under A.D. 1095.

⁴ "1094. Then went the King to Hastings at the Candlemas (2nd Feb.), and during the time he was waiting for weather, he caused to be hallowed the Minster at Battle, and deprived Herbert Losinga, the Bishop of Thetford, of his staff."—*Saxon Chronicle*, under date.

⁵ Malmesbury, *De Reg. Gest.*

⁶ Letter XV. ad Ingulphum priorem.

his own great work, for nearly eight hundred years, and the name of his extraction has, by the misapplication of its meaning, tainted his character with meanness. It does not require that my humble pen should be employed to prove the error; sufficient it is to look at his life, his writings, his learning, his eloquence, and his church,—“By their works ye shall know them.”

II. I have referred to the statement of Malmesbury in *Gest. Pont.*,⁷ “Herbertus cognomento Lozinga” “patre suo Rotberto ejusdem Cognominis.” So Herbert de Lozinga was the son of Robert de Lozinga. Now Robert of Lorraine would only be called of Lorraine when he resided in a place out of that province: it would be no distinction in his own country; it was to show his extraction foreign to the people with whom he resided, and this mark of foreign extraction continued in his son. The statement of Malmesbury, that the father was surnamed Lozinga, gets rid of the inference, which would otherwise be strong, that Herbert was born in Lorraine; though, as Mr. Freeman hints, bishops were also Lorraine by education. The mark of foreign extraction, not necessarily of birth, continues in the son.

Cotton says Herbert was born “in Pago Oxymensi.”⁸ The *Hist. Ecclesiæ Norwic.*, says, “qui Normanniæ in Pago Oximensi natus.” The *Fundationis Historia*, which I suppose corresponds with the *Registrum Primum*, states expressly, “qui [William Rufus] duxit secum de Normannia in Angliam unum de Capellanis suis, Herbertum Priorem de Fischampe.” Rufus brought Herbert with him from Normandy. The position that an Englishman should go

⁷ *Supra*, p. 282.

⁸ With great diffidence, I suggest that in *Epist. XII.* Herbert refers to himself as a foreigner. He says, “Concidit spes revisendæ patriæ, et alieno expositus solo.” The letter is addressed “ad Normannum Ædituum,” and, though highly metaphorical, may have here also a more literal meaning.

to Fescamp, become its prior, and come over with the second Norman king as his chaplain, and be promoted here, seems to shock our historic instinct, especially as all the English bishops but one, had ceased to be soon after the Conquest.

Giraldus Cambrensis says, Herbert was born at Exmes "[Hiesmes] in Pago Oxymentis," and, by mentioning the town Exmes, he only goes a little further than Cotton, who refers to "Oxymentis," and the *Hist. Eccl.*, which says it was the Norman Oxymentis, and we shall see the reason for this distinction.

Now Giraldus is an undoubted authority. He was born forty years after Herbert's death, brought up in France, many times on the continent, and especially strong in geography. With these advantages he learnt more of Herbert than Malmesbury or Cotton, who appear not to have been in Giraldus' high position, nor to have his means of exact information.

III. We have, therefore, traced by authority the birth-place of Herbert de Lozinga to the "Pagus Oximensis" in Normandy, and to the town of Exmes within it. We will now show what district in Normandy the Pagus Oximensis comprises, and its origin; and give a short outline of contemporary events connected with Exmes, the town of his birth.

The application of the name "Oximensis" to a large tract of country, now forming part of the Department of Orne, seems to be derived from an emigration of the Osismii,⁹ the inhabitants of the Armorican headland, who, being displaced by the arrival of the Britons, forced from their island by the invasions of the Saxons and Angles, founded another home in the neighbouring land.¹

⁹ As to the Osismii see Cæsar, *Gallie War*, i., p. 34.

¹ "Cumque ab Anglis et Saxonibus Britannia insula fuisset invasa Major pars incolarum ejus Mare trajiciens in ultimis Gallie finibus Venetorum et Curiosolitorum regiones occupavit.—Eginhard, Charlemagne, ann. 786."

This tract had before been invaded by the Saxons, who had settled there on the land which the Romans were too weak to defend; and if this emigration of the Osismii is a correct tradition, they supplanted those Saxons in their occupation of the territory.

It is quite certain that in the sixth century the name "Oximensis" was applied to a wide tract of territory comprising the whole diocese of Seez, part of that of Bayeux,² and that portion of the Pagus Uticensis [Ouche] which is comprehended in the diocese of Lisieux,³ and a new site for the capital was adopted in the burgh at Exmes, in place of the older one of the Saxon population at Seez.

The Osismii brought their Christianity among the heathen Saxon inhabitants, and this may account that in the Council of Orleans, A.D. 511, Litaredus subscribed "Oximensis Ecclesiæ Episcopus." For, says the *Gallia Christiana*,⁴ "cum autem Oximus antiquissima urbs populis regionis hujus nomen dederit. Mirum non est quod priores Sagienses Episcopi Oximenses, id est Oximorum ecclesiæ Episcopi nuncupati sunt."

The older dioceses afterwards again asserted their original limits, founded on the still earlier lines of the Celtic tribes; for in Gaul the Celtic landmarks were still in existence when it became Christian, and the tribal divisions of the land in those times were taken as the jurisdiction of the mission bishops. These became petrified, so to speak, and formed the dioceses, and continued more lasting than any after secular division.⁵

² *Magni Rotuli Norm.* p. xlii. Edited by Thomas Stapleton, Soc. Ant. 1840.

³ See Map at end of this paper.

⁴ *Gallia Christiana*, vol. xi. under "Seez."

⁵ In a Capitulary of the year 802, containing a list of the places in the circuit of the high personages sent through the several districts of the empire to reform abuses, and called *Missi Domini*, the Pagus, with others, is described "In Cenomannico, Hoxomensi " and, again, in another

That part of the Pagus Oximensis which formerly lay within the diocese of Bayeux,⁶ on the subsidence of the effect of the new settlement of the Osismii, became part of that diocese, and formed till 1789 the archdeaconry of the "Oximin" within it; and the bishops of the Oximensis went back to their old seat at Seez. The diocese of Seez still, however, retained a memorial of the people by which it had been called in the designation, as in Bayeux, of one of its five archdeaconries "Oximensi," which continued also to the Revolution.

The "Pagus Oximensis" thus early appears in history. The *Gallia Christiana*, in speaking of the older monasteries in the diocese of Seez, says,⁷ "In Pago Oximensis municipium est, S. Serenici nomine cui parocchialis ecclesia nuncupata est;" and states of that saint, "Fugiendi honoris causa in Gallias profecti, primum Cenomannos in Vico Salvia consistunt, tum Serenicus cum Flavado ministro secessit in proximum Pagum Oximensem."

Under the Norman princes the earlier territorial divisions were allowed to remain, and were represented by the Comitatus (Comté). At first the Comté was granted to none but those of the royal line, and we find that William the son of Duke Richard I., and the brother of Richard II., had the Comté of Exmes, or Castrum Oximensi, which he forfeited by rebellion.

The Chartulary of the great abbey of St. Peter supra Divam, in the Pagus Oximensis,⁸ thus describes the event,

Capitulary of Charles le Chauve, 863, headed "Missi autem et pagi per missaticos," the pagi are thus noted, "in Neustria VII. Eirardus Episcopus Theodoricus Abbas, Herloinus, Haudoinus missi in Aprincato, Constantius Bagisino Coriliso, oclinqus Saxonia, et Harduini Oximiso et in Lisuino." So that these civil divisions, or pagi, then corresponded in a great measure with the dioceses.—*Mag. Rot.*, Stap. p. xlviii.

⁶ See Map.

⁷ Vol. xi. p. 711.

⁸ *Gall. Christ.*, vol. xi., under Seez.

speaking of the origin of the abbey: "Hunc igitur Guellimus ille est Richardi Secundi Normanniorum duce clarissimi frater, qui adhuc minor in Oximensi Castro quod ab eo cum finitimis custodiendum acceperat adversus fratrem suum eundem rebellare niteretur."

This Richard I. refounded the abbey of Saint Wandrille, and his charter confirming the property of the abbey, among a long list of churches and estates, includes those in the Pagus Oximensis thus: "In Oximensi Pago Ecclesiam de Oximo cum decimis et duos hospites cum *decimis theloni*,"⁹ that is, the tithe of the royal revenues, to which grant we shall hereafter refer. Subsequently we find, however, parts of the Pagus Oximensis granted out to the Norman nobles as vicomtes under the duke, and the Vicomté of the Castrum Oximensis (Exmes) was granted to Roger of Montgomery, who is connected with our diocese as the father of Bishop Eborard, the immediate successor of Herbert Lozinga. This Roger, by his marriage with Mabilia daughter of Talvas, held the Vicomté of Bellesme, also in the "Pagus Oximensis." His eldest son was called Robert of Bellesme, who afterwards held the vicomté of his father's family.¹

Though much of the Pagus Oximensis was granted to nobles as vicomtes of districts, yet there remained a portion of the original Oximin held direct by the dukes. This part had for its head, not the original Castrum Oximensis (Exmes), which had been made a separate vicomté in the family of Montgomery, but Falaise;² and the whole district thus ungranted accounted for their taxes to the dukes at Caen. For it is to the records relating to the fiscal administration

⁹ Ibid. under Bayeux.

¹ *Magni Rot.*, Stapleton, ed. 1840.

² Falaise, the birthplace of the Conqueror, was in the "Pagus Oximensis," and remained in the hands of the dukes. It may interest some to learn that "the caput of the Honour of Marmion in Normandy was the castle of Fontenay, in the bailiwick of the Oximin or Huymoio, near the river Laize." —*Stap. Mag. Rot.*, p. xcvi.

of the countries governed by the Normans that we must refer to learn the divisions of the territories they occupied. Probably our own *Domesday Book* is the best example of this. There remains, however, so far as they refer to the administration of Normandy, the Great Rolls of the Norman Exchequer for the year 1180, edited by Mr. Stapleton. These were the returns of the different vicomtes of the collection of the royal dues receivable in their several districts, and extended to much detail. At that time (1180) Gislebert Pipart rendered account of the ferm of the Vicomté of Exmes, for we shall see presently the family of Montgomery lost the vicomté on the accession of William Rufus to England. The whole Oximin was then divided into the Vicomté of Exmes, the Vicomté and prepositura of Falaise, and the Vicomté and prepositura of Argentan.

This is an example of the heading of these rolls: Membrane 9,³ (amongst other names and districts) Gislebertus Pipart pro Vicecomitatu de Oximis. Willelmus (Robertus de Capella) pro Vice Comitatu de Oximino. So that there was a vicomte of Oximus (Exmes) and a vicomte of the Oximin (de Oximino), that is, of the portion of the Pagus Oximensis remaining direct under the king, and which had not been appropriated to any of the nobility.

The church of Exmes, "et decimæ thelonei," had been granted, as we have stated, to the abbey of St. Wandrille by Duke Richard II., and we therefore find the Vicomte of Falaise paid the tithe⁴ of the "Nundinæ et omnes mercaturies totius Comitatus Oximensis" direct to the abbey, and deducted them in their accounts.

The rolls from which I have quoted were returned to Caen, and were there preserved; the later ones were returned to London, and preserved in the Tower, and those from 1200 to 1205 have been edited by Sir T. D. Hardy.

³ *Magn. Rot.*, ed. Stapleton, p. cxxvii.

⁴ *Ibid.*

These rolls were not then used for the purpose of accounting for the whole revenue of the district, but contain miscellaneous entries of payments, and Exmes is always referred to under its contraction "aür Oxim." When Henry V. 1417-1418,⁵ for a time recovered the command of Normandy, he continued the roll; and in this later roll, which has nothing to do with the fiscal arrangement of the duchy, the town is always mentioned by its modern name, Exmes. Thus, among many entries of headings of contents of letters patent, is "De salvis conductibus Castrum Dexmes;" and another states that a petition had been received from William Terree, Knight, de parochiis Valdesloges et Attere in Castellanis Dexmes. And at this date (1418) Exmes was still the seat of the vicomté, for two proclamations of Henry V., 4th February and 28th February,⁶ directed to the Vicomte of Caen, show the then unsettled state of the country; and writs containing these proclamations were directed to seven other vicomtes, among whom is the Vicomte of Exmes, and the neighbouring Vicomtes of Falaise and Argentan.

The mention of Caen suggests an interesting fact. The river Orne, which divided the town of Caen, was the boundary during nearly all its course between the Pagus Oximensis and the Bessin (the Diocese of Bayeux.) Robert Curthose, the eldest son and successor in Normandy of William the Conqueror, made a trench which cut off a bend in the river, thus forming an island; and this trench—so Mestre Wace, who wrote in the twelfth century, and was brought up at Caen, states—could be seen by anyone going by the rue Mesine. *The Chronique de Normandie*, a translation of the thirteenth century of the *Roman de Rou*, states of Robert Curthose, "Fait a Kaen caire une trenche parmi la rue Huymois." The part thus formed

⁵ Henry V. took Caen by assault, September 4th, 1417, and held his court there early in 1418.

⁶ *Rotuli Normannie*, T. D. Hardy, 1835, p. 347.

into an island was on the east bank of the Orne, and therefore in the Pagus Oximensis, and the street passing through it was called by the names of the Exmesine (poetice Mesine) or Huymoise, *i.e.*, Oximensis, because it was in the territory of the Oximensis. The old course of the Orne and the trench made by Robert Curthose can be observed now on any plan of Caen, and the old rue Huymoïs or Oximensis still exists under the title of rue St. Jean.

IV. Now I will turn to the "bourg" of Exmes, the town of the settlement of the Oxymensi—in Latin, Castrum Oxymensis, Oximus; in French, Exmes and sometimes Hyemes;—and I wish first to establish the identity of these names with Exmes, stated by Giraldus to have been the birthplace of Lozinga. I would rather do this by French than by English authority.

The *Gallia Christiana*⁷ thus commences the foundation of the Abbey of Troarnum, in the Diocese of Bayeux: "Locus est ad Divam Fluvium, tribus a Cadomo distans leucis, ubi Rogerius de Monte Gomerico Oximensis Vicecomes Abbatiam instituere anno 1022, duodecim Canonicos instituerat quibus ob morum turpitudinem ejectis. Rogerius Rogerii jam dicti filius et ipse Oximensis Vicecomes" in 1050, increased the buildings of the monastery. This Roger II., the son of Roger I. and in 1050 Vicecomes Oximensis, is the same person who came over with the Conqueror, and is called by Ordericus throughout his history Vicomte of Exmes.

Again, Master Wace in the *Roman de Rou* (Rou meaning Rollo), edited by M. Pluquet, Rouen, 1827, speaking of the invasion of Normandy by the King of France, says:

"En Normandie sunt entré
Par de juxte Oismes sunt passé."

⁷ Vol. xi., under Bayeux.

The note to "Oismes" by M. Pluquet is "Le pays d'Exmes, ici l'auteur parle de la ville d'Hyemes, Exmes."

Mr. J. S. Brewer, in his *Geographical Index* to the edition for the *Anglia Christina*, of Giraldus De Inst. Princ., says "*Oximense Castrum (Hiesmes)*;" and the reference in the *Index to Ordericus* (ed. Bohn) is "Hiemois Exmes." In that to Mr. Stapleton's edition of the *Norman Ex. Rolls*, 1840, "Exmes, Hiemes, Oximæ," are used synonymously; and in the same manner by Sir T. D. Hardy in the *Rot. Norm.*, 1835.

Now Exmes is much mentioned in history during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Giraldus, who places Herbert's birth there, knew of it, and that it was near to Seez. In *De Instructione Princ.* p. 159, speaking of the omens that preceded the death of Henry II., he says, "Circiter octo dies ante obitum ejus contigit in Normanniæ non procul a Sagio (Seez) sed quasi per milliaria quinque Castro, videlicet Oximensi;" and he then described the fish in a pool leaping out at night, and making a noise so as to attract a multitude.⁸

Near Exmes, to the east, was the monastery of St. Evroult, in that part of the Pagus Oxymensis which was in the Diocese of Lisieux. St. Evroult, the saint and confessor, is mentioned in the *Gallia Christiana*,⁹ under the Diocese of Lisieux, thus: "in Uticensis (Ouche) Pagi Oximensi Silva, sese St. Ebrulfus abdidit;" and as to the several names of the monastery itself, "nunc Oximensis a pago, nunc Uticensis a Silva dicti. In the *Martyrologium Romanum*, p. 29, "In Pago Oximensi Sancti Ebrulfi (Evroult), Abbatis et Confessoris tempore Childeberti regis." And in the *Mart. Gall.*, "Eodem die in Pago Oximensi Uticensi (Ouche) Cenobio, Sancti Ebrulfi, Abbatis primi illius loci

⁸ Ed. *Anglia Christina*, 1846. The story is repeated again by Giraldus, *Descriptio Cambriæ*, vol. vi., p. 19, M. R. Series of his works.

⁹ Vol. xi., under Lisieux.

et Confessoris." These extracts show that this part of the diocese formed part of the "Pagus Oximensis."¹

Now the son of one of the suite of Roger de Montgomery, Vicomte of Exmes, was sent from England to St. Evroult as the nearest monastery to the seat of the family to which his father Odelirius was attached. This is Ordericus Vitalis, who thus became a monk of St. Evroult, and for fifty-six years at least he employed his time during an almost continuous residence there in writing a history of Normandy and England, interspersed with the local events around him.

Ordericus throughout calls Roger II. of Montgomery Viscount Exmes, and in describing the wanderings of St. Evroult, A.D. 560 to 567, says "that the saint and his companions passing through the *district of Exmes*, they settled at Montfort (St. Evroult de Montfort), but as there were two castles in the neighbourhood, Exmes and Gacé, to which a number of people were attracted by legal proceedings, the holy men were disturbed;" so that Exmes was then a place of some importance. Gacé is a village six miles from Exmes, on the road between Seez and Bernay.

The eldest son of Roger II. of Montgomery was, as we have said, Robert of Bellesme, of whom Ordericus says, "Christian history does not exhibit his equal in wickedness." He was called of Bellesme from Bellesme in the Pagus Oximensis which he inherited from his mother Mabilia.² Robert Curthose, the son of the Conqueror, had, on his coming to the dukedom on the death of his father, given the castle of Exmes to Gilbert, the Lord of Laigle, a neighbouring nobleman, and this became a grievance to Bellesme,

¹ See Map.

² The oppression of the monastery of St. Evroult by the cruel Mabilia, and her murder by Hugh of the house of Giroie, the re-founders of St. Evroult, is told in a very lively manner by Ordericus, but is not sufficiently connected with the subject to repeat here. Roger II. of Montgomery, after

whom the people of Exmes dreaded. In 1089 Bellesme besieged the castle, and the account is given by Ordericus in some detail, and being an event contemporary with Herbert may interest us. "This (the grant of the castle to Laigle) gave great offence to Robert of Bellesme, whose rage and jealousy were so roused that he assembled troops, and in the first week in January beset the castle for four days, assaulting it with great vigour, notwithstanding the winter's frost and snow. Hurling spears and stones upon the assailants, they (the besieged) precipitated them into the ditch, wounding some and killing others. Meanwhile the young Gilbert, Lord of Laigle, came to his aid with eighty soldiers, and getting into the castle by night, this addition to the garrison with provisions and arms enabled his uncle to maintain the defence. Upon this the tyrant Bellesme, finding how strongly the place was fortified, drew off in rage and mortification."³ Many years later, Robert of Bellesme was expelled from England, and again ravaged the country, but the people of Exmes leagued together to oppose him. In 1103 the duke's (Robert Curthose) influence being on the wane, Bellesme then obtained possession of the former appanage of his father, but it proved his ruin. Ten years later (1113) Normandy being under the stronger hand of Henry I., that "crafty and powerful Lord, full of avarice and cruelty and an implacable oppressor of the Church of God and the poor," was charged amongst other crimes "for not having made any returns as the king's viscount and officer of the royal revenues, from Argentan, Exmes, and Falaise."

her death, married Adeliza the daughter of Everard de Puisset, one of the highest of the nobility of France. There was one child only of this marriage, Eborard, the successor of Herbert.

³ Exmes must in early times have been a place of great strength, for Ordericus says, "A.D. 944, Hugh the Great sat down before Exmes with his army, but the garrison made a brave resistance and prevented his further advance"; but Frodoard, a cotemporary writer, says it was Bayeux.—*Rotuli Seaccarii*, Stapleton, p. liv.; Ordericus Vit. Ed. Boh. vol. ii., p. 300.

He was condemned and thrown into the strictest confinement,⁴ and the people rejoiced. Henry of Huntingdon says, "that no one knew after he was in prison whether he was alive or dead." Of these events connected with his native town Herbert probably knew. On the death of Henry I. Exmes and Gacé were yielded to the Empress Matilda, but in the year after (1136) Gilbert de Clare in the interest of Stephen "engaged in an expedition against Exmes, and burnt the new bourg which King Henry had lately added to the place, but they were defeated by Count Talvas, who fell upon him suddenly with other knights and men of arms, and Gilbert escaped with some difficulty."⁵

This Bourg Neuf was a small suburb situated to the east of the old bourg of Exmes, and was enlarged by Henry I. A priory of Benedictines was afterwards built where the church of Notre Dame stood in this suburb, but it is now swept away. It might be that Henry I. when he built the New Bourg granted the charter set out in the *Gallia Christ.* headed "Charta H. I. rex Anglorum ex Chartulam (*sic*) circiter 1108," granting privileges to those dwelling "in Oximiis et per totam leugam Oximarum."

I could carry on these notes of Exmes further, but I will now stop at the period of the death, or a little after the death, of Herbert.

Now Herbert took Eborard the youngest son of Roger de Montgomery, and the only child of a gentle and pious mother,⁶ as one of his own chaplains. Denied by the stricter rules of his Order of children of his own, we learn by his letters his interest in the young. And Eborard succeeded him. So the son of the priest of Exmes and the son of its lord begun and completed our cathedral, and it still stands perfect, more than any other, in the stern and magnificent grandeur of its first building. Having completed it,

⁴ At Wareham. ⁵ Ordericus Vitalis. Ed. Bohn, 1854.

⁶ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 195; vol. iii., p. 33.

Eborard of his wealth prepared himself a resting-place in the rugged valley of Fontenay près Montbard, where he built a monastery, the church of which still stands.⁷ Its plainness and simplicity accord with the rules of the Order of Cîteaux, under which it was governed. The cloister and lavatory, of extreme beauty, are still there to show the power and genius which guided the appropriation of the wealth of the founder.

Eborard left the charge of his diocese in 1145,⁸ "reliquit eundem (Episcopatum) anno de domino millesimo cento quadragesimo quinti et anno sequenti apud Fonteneyam vitam finivit."⁹ History, as of Herbert, has said unkind things of him. There is no authority whatever that he was a rebel even to a usurper king, and no fact shown by the only historian, Henry of Huntingdon, who says he was deprived for his cruelty.¹ Ralph de Coggeshall says of him, "Ebrardus Episcopus a Norewico recessit Fontenetem." "He retired to Fonteney." This could not have been sudden, and must have been long prepared for. Here the learned and wealthy son of the last hereditary lord of Exmes died, and on his tomb by the altar of the church he built, although probably he was not at its dedication, there was inscribed these simple words,

⁷ Viollet le Duc, *Dict. Raiss.*, vol. i., pp. 207, 274; vol. iii., p. 423; vol. vi., p. 172; who gives drawings of the lavatory and church.

⁸ *Registrum Primum* of the Norwich Archives, p. 27.

⁹ The date of the death of Eborard has been as much confused as the birthplace of Herbert, and for the same reason—no one has gone to the earliest authorities. The *Registrum Primum*, the first in time and the most reliable authority, says, Eborard left his bishopric in 1145, and died at Fonteney the following year; yet not one writer has to this time mentioned this, though it is twice repeated in the first register of his cathedral. They have not gone to the fountain head,—they tap the stream lower down, after it has become tainted with error. This date of his death confirms the statement that he was not present at the dedication of his church at Fonteney, in 1147, and thus all the facts become consistent.

¹ Henry of Huntingdon does not add "to the Jews:" that is a modern gloss.

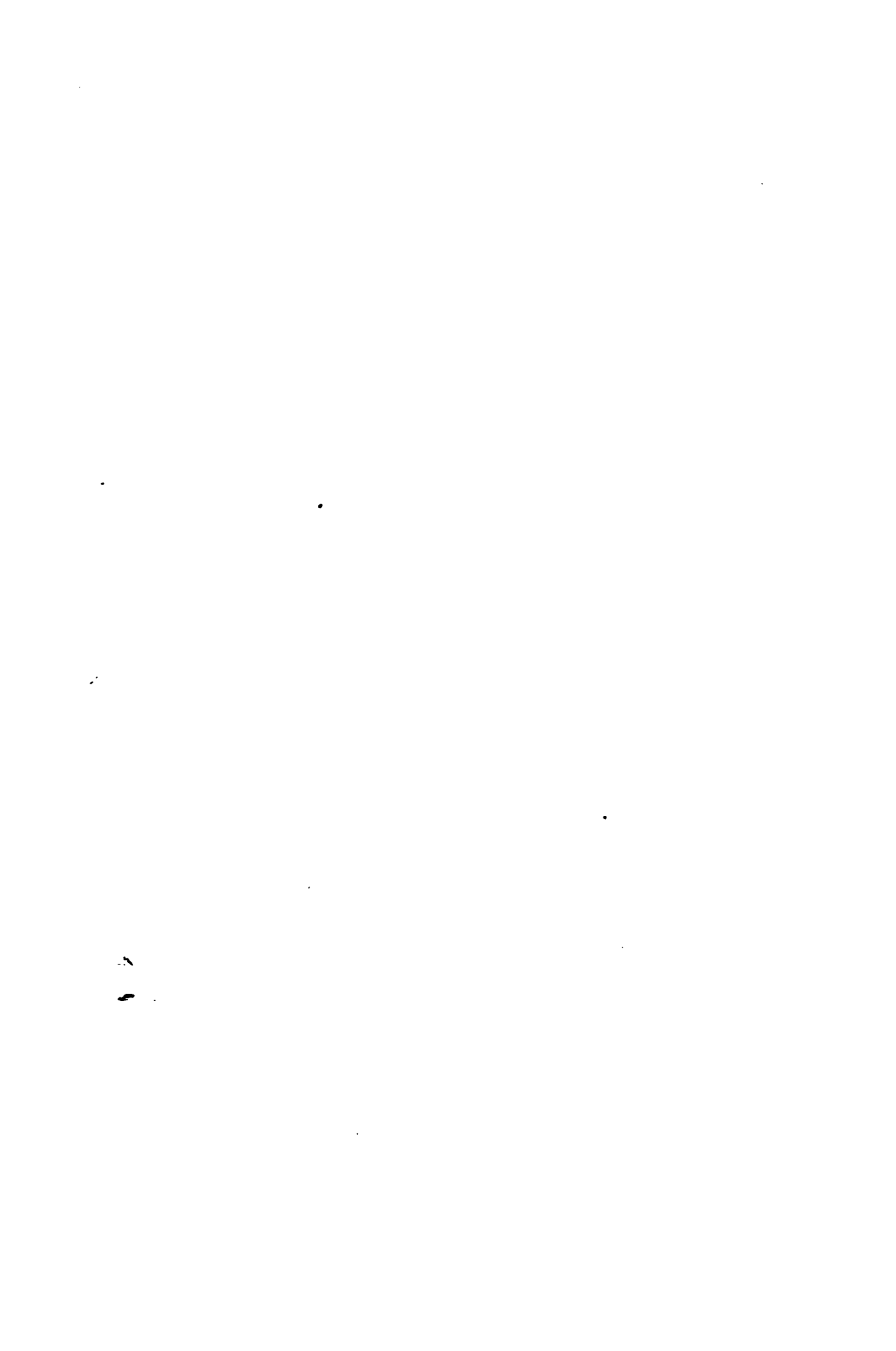
"Hic jacet Dominus Ebrardus² Norwicensis Episcopus qui edificavit templum istud."

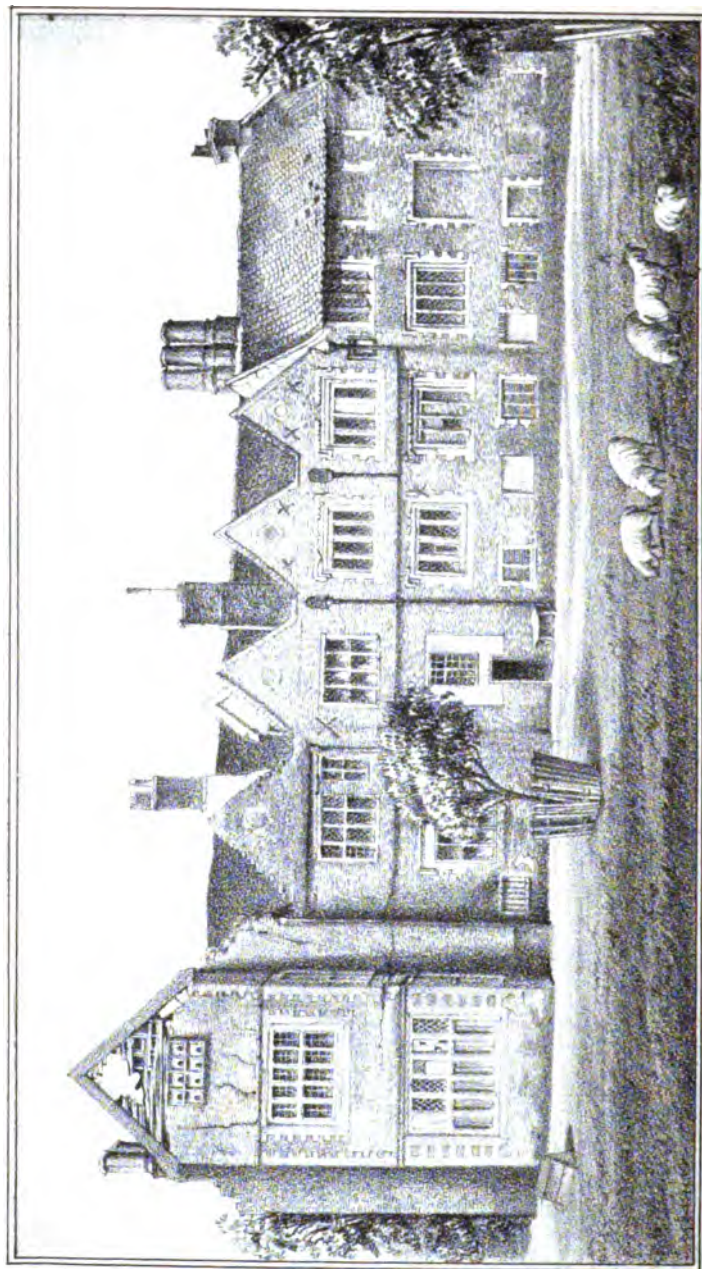
Exmes is a village or country town of 576 inhabitants, in the department Orne, eleven miles from Argentan and twelve miles due north of Seez; it possesses a fine church of different dates, (la belle Eglise des plusieurs styles) and the ruins of the castle of the Montgomerys remain. It is in a fine country, and from the castle is a grand view towards the forest and abbey of St. Evroult, some fourteen miles distant. It is still of some slight importance, being the "chef lieu" of a canton of fifteen communes, and celebrated, as are many places in the department Orne, as a rearing place for horses.³ Around it are still many good houses, some of which are old (anciens). Such are the slender details of a place which was the capital of a large district occupied by an invading tribe of the Osismii, from whom it took its name, and which afterwards became the seat of the Vicomté of one of the most powerful of the Norman nobles.

By keeping to facts how naturally everything falls. Robert Lozinga (of Lorraine) has a son named Herbert, who retained as a mark of his extraction the same surname of Lozinga. He is born at Exmes (Oximus), a place in the Pagus Oximensis in Normandy, and apparently in early times of some note and strength, and where churchmen might congregate. Herbert enters the abbey of Fescamp, becomes its prior, and William Rufus brings him over with him, "qui (Rufus) duxit secum de Normannia ad Angliam;" he rises and becomes abbot of Ramsey in 1087, and bishop of Thetford in 1091. Having brought his father with him, he provides for him as prior of Winchester.

² This is the spelling also used in an original charter now in the Norwich Chapter Archives.

³ *Dictionnaire Géographique de la France*, par Adolphe Joanne. Hatchett.





Breccles Hall, Norfolk.

NOTES
ON THE
History of Breccles Hall, Norfolk.

COMMUNICATED BY
THE REV. AUGUSTUS JESSOPP, D.D.

ON the 20th day of October, 1546, *i.e.*, about three months before the death of Henry VIII., John Woodhouse of Breccles, in the county of Norfolk, Esq., made his last will and testament—"My body," he says, "being disquieted and vexed with sickness." He ordered the aforesaid body to be buried in the chancel of Breccles, and gave to the high altar there 3s. 4d. sterling. He was an important personage, the second son of Sir Thomas Woodhouse of Kimberley, says Blomefield, and I have little doubt that the fact was so.¹

His estates were considerable. On the other side of Norwich he had lands in Staninghall, Crostwick, Frettenham, and Horstead. In this neighbourhood his possessions were larger still. He was seized of the manors of Breccles, Bulles, Letheriches, and Dowes in Breccles; land in Stowe, Hockham, and Shropham; the manor of Hoo, or Howe, near Dereham; with other lands in Stowe, Swanton Morley, East Tuddenham, *Westodenham* (sic), and East Dereham;

¹ Cur. Ep. Norw., Wymer, f. 378.

moneys out at interest, and much personal property besides.³ He left behind him two sons and two daughters, and he died nearly three years after the making of his will, viz., on the 31st August, 1549.

John Woodhouse left as his heir a son, Francis, who at his father's death was fifteen years old, and who succeeded in process of time to the Breccles estate. The Staninghall property was left to his younger son, Roger Woodhouse, who came into it in due course.

John Woodhouse, Esq., had married Anne, daughter of William Spelman, Esq., and widow of William Sayve of Mundford. He left her well provided for, and amongst other bequests gave her a life interest in all the personalty. His will is unusually interesting for a clause, which, as it suggests more than one question, I venture to read.

"Item. I will that Anne my wife have iiij horse meares and colts xxvij., pryce fourteen pounde. iiij oxen, pryce eight pounds. Twenty mylche kyen, pryce twenty marks. Tenne bullocks of two years old, pryce five pounds. Leaven calvyes, pryce fourty shillings. Two hundred combes of grain, pryce four-and-twentie pounds A cheyne of fyne gould, pryce twenty pounds."

There is a nice little extract for gentlemen interested in the history of prices! Also it is a nice little extract for other gentlemen interested in philological pursuits, who doubtless will tell us what the meaning of that expression "horse meares and colts xxvij" means, and what the other word "leaven" signifies. Does it mean that as thirteen go to a baker's dozen, so in this case eleven went to half a score?

Well! John Woodhouse died, and I hope he lies buried

³ His manors and lands are recited at large in his Inquisition p.m. held at the Shirehouse, Norwich, 3rd November, 5 Edward VI. By this it appears that he died 31st August, 3 Edward VI. (S. P. O.) leaving Francis Woodhouse son and heir "*et. 17 et amplius*" at the time of taking the inquisition.

comfortably where he wished to be buried. Where he lived I cannot tell. I know he did *not* live in this house where we are now assembled; but he lived at Breccles of course. His widow was a great catch, so were his daughters. Their father left them each a marriage portion of 300 marks, which, in my judgment, was quite equivalent to a fortune of £5000 nowadays. Elizabeth, the elder, married John Woodhouse (I suppose a cousin) at Breccles, on the 10th July, 1551. Thomasine, the younger, had licence to marry Henry Gascon of London, 24th October, 1550.³ The widow herself married her third husband, Thomas Dysney, gentleman, at Breccles, 21st July, 1554. She survived him also, and here she is said to have died some time in the autumn of 1559.⁴

Francis Woodhouse, son and heir of John Woodhouse, Esq., was past seventeen on the 3rd of November, 1551, *i.e.*, he came of age some time in 1555. I have no doubt he married early—people in those days always did. Who his first wife was I cannot tell. He was twenty-five when he came into full possession of his property by his mother's

³ There is a curious discrepancy between the dates of the license and the entry of the marriage of Thomasine Woodhouse. In the parish register the marriage is entered 12 Oct., and it is doubtful whether the year is 1549 or 1550; but in the *Act Book* at the Registry, (which must certainly be more to be relied on) the date of the giving the licence is the 24th Oct., 1550. The entry in the parish register has clearly been made from a separate slip of parchment or paper, copied into the present register at a later date, but the date 12 Oct. must be a mistake of the copyist, unless (which I much doubt) the marriage took place first and the license was procured after.

⁴ "Master Thomas Disney and mystres Anne Woodhouse were married y^e xxj days of Julye, Anno Dni 1554."—P. R.

Her will (Cur. Ep. Norvic.) is dated 20 Oct., 1557. She calls herself "Anne Dysney of Breccles widow, gentlewoman." By this it appears that at this time neither of the sons was married. She leaves her son Francis Woodhouse executor, "and my brother and dear friend Sir Roger Woodhouse my supervisor." The will was proved 2nd December, 1559.

death. But if he married before then, his first wife died some few years after.

In December, 1567, he married again one Margaret Repps of St. Stephen's Norwich.⁵ In the year 1583 he completed the building of this house, and there, over the mantelpiece of what was probably his own bed-room, you may see carved upon the panel,—“F. W.—1583.”

The gentry in this neighbourhood during the reign of Queen Elizabeth were conspicuous for their stubborn adherence to the old faith and the old ritual, i.e., they were Romanists almost to a man. The Hobards of Holme Hale, the Downes' of Bodney, the De Greys of Merton, the Beddingfields of Quidenham, the Lovells of Harling, the Flints of Ellingham, and I know not who besides. All these that I have named were not only sympathisers with the old religion, but they were protesters against the new. They refused two things at the bidding of the Pope. First, they refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, objecting on conscientious grounds to the wording of it; and second, they refused to attend their parish church, objecting to the doctrine of the Common Prayer Book. For this their refusal they were denominated Recusants, and were commonly called Popish Recusants.

As long as they refused to attend Church, so long they were subject to enormous fines and severe penalties; and, to their honour be it spoken, in hundreds of cases families of wealth and position were reduced to poverty by the pressure of the penal laws. But outside this inner circle of representative Catholics there were very many more of the gentry who were Conformists, though they hated the Church and its ritual with a deep and deadly hatred, and none the less so because they were looked upon by the Anglican with

⁵ The license is for Francis Woodhouse, Esq., of Breccles, to marry Margaret Repps of the parish of St. Stephen, Norwich, and is dated 16 Dec., 1567. Mr. Woodhouse was at this time in his thirty-fourth year.

suspicion and despised by the Recusants as Trimmers. Francis Woodhouse was himself not a Recusant, he was what the more rigid and determined among the Catholics called a "Schismatic." You may be quite sure he did not go to church at all oftener than he could help. When he presented Mr. Thomas Atkinson to the vicarage of Breccles on the 17th June, 1573, there is some probability that the said Atkinson was not a very pronounced Evangelical clergyman.

But though Mr. Woodhouse was no Recusant himself, his wife was : not his first wife, for I know nothing about her ; not his second wife, for she seems to have died early too ; but his third wife, Eleanor. Who she was I cannot tell, and I shall be grateful to anyone who can inform me.

The Jesuits invaded England first in 1580 ; their leaders were Campion and Parsons, two very remarkable men. Campion was hung, drawn, and quartered in 1581. Parsons escaped. These men and their associates produced a wonderful effect by their active preaching and missionary audacity, and the Catholics began to take heart. The Government was alarmed, and the penal laws were put in force with the most pitiless severity. Government spies were employed without stint, and a small army of these wretches were let loose upon such of the luckless gentry as showed any sympathy with the Roman creed or had rendered themselves suspicious by their unguarded language. How many of these worthies were skulking about Norfolk and Suffolk we shall never know ; but the confessions of two of them have come down to us, and very instructive is the information they afford. Anthony Tyrrell was one. His account of himself has been published by Mr. Morris.⁶ Richard Lacey of Brodishe was another, and his report

⁶ "The Fall of Anthony Tyrrell" is to be found in *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, second series, edited by John Morris. Burns and Oates, 1875.

now lies in the Record Office and has never yet been printed at all. Both documents refer to the year 1584. Let us have Tyrrell's first. Bear in mind that the man was a Catholic priest, and harboured, and rewarded, and protected, and treated with every sort of kindness; nay that the fact of so receiving him involved all who did so in peril of their lives. " these were privy to my leaving England, Mr. Henry Drury of Losell, Rookwood of Coldham Hall, old Martyn of Melford Yaxley of Yaxley, Bedingfield of Bedingfield, Michael Hare of Brustyard Everett, Nicholas Timperley of Boyton Hall In Norfolk there were privy to my departure the Lady Lovell [of Harling], Mrs. Woodhouse of Breccles, &c., &c."

Next hear Richard Lacey. But let me inform you that this man Lacey, in this very confession, betrayed his own brother, Brian Lacey, a priest, who a year or two afterwards was hung, drawn, and quartered, in great measure in consequence of the information Richard had furnished.

Richard Lacey says that his brother Brian told him " that Sir Miles Yare, parson of Sturston saith mass commonly in his parlor chamber in his own house, and that in the said chamber are all things necessary pertaining thereto." He goes on to say, " He knows one Mr. Vaughan, a priest, and one Mr. Dallison, sometime a schoolmaster at Wetherden Hall, but now by report, as he thinketh, a priest; and they resort to Mr. Ed. Suliard's place, to Mr. Lionell Morse's place at Westroppe in Suffolk, to Mr. Bardwicke's place at Boughton, and to many other places. There they say mass whenever they come there."

"Mr. Vaughan is a proper well-made man, of a reasonable stature, and hath a red thin beard, and goeth in apparell like a gentleman, and is about the age of forty years. Mr. Dallison is a very little man, and hath a little black beard; he is bowen shouldered, hath a soft speech,

and goeth in a livery like a serving man, about fifty years of age.”⁷

Put these two extracts together, and what a curious picture they afford us of the state of things at this time—the gentry playing hide and seek with the wretched priests, who were going about from house to house holding their lives in their hands; a beneficed clergyman going through his service in the parish church in the morning, we may be sure in no very attractive way, finishing by saying mass in his own parlour where a little knot of shuddering malcontents were gathered, trembling at the rustle of a leaf lest some informant should be upon them or some spy in their midst! Lacey does not name Mr. Woodhouse, but I have little doubt that the little black man with the soft speech, or the proper well-made man with the red thin beard, found his way into this house, and very probably one or both may have said mass, when the doors were shut and the windows guarded, in this very room where we now are.

Be that as it may, this information of Lacey and Tyrrell brought Francis Woodhouse into some suspicion. On the 30th September of this very year, 1585, he was presented at the sessions at Dereham as a Recusant; at the next sessions at Norwich he was fined, but he seems to have got himself out of the difficulty. He was ready to conform; his wife was not; henceforth for twenty years she appears constantly on the Recusant rolls. Year after year it is still the same—Eleanor, wife of Francis Woodhouse, Esq., of Breccles, will not go to church!⁸

⁷ This curious document is to be found in the Record Office (Dom. Eliz., vol. 169, No. 19). It is dated 13th March, 1584. I must remind readers that the title ‘*Sir*’—‘*Sir Miles Yare*’—is the ordinary title of a parish clergyman at this time—answering to the more modern ‘*Rev.*’

⁸ My authority is to be found among the records of the Clerk of the Peace for the County of Norfolk. Unfortunately these records are very incomplete and fragmentary. There is a tradition that sacks full of the

Mrs. Woodhouse does not seem to have been a very prudent personage, or, if she were, the spies were too many for her. The following is another glimpse at her and her proclivities:—

“23rd March, 1597-8. At a meeting of the Commissioners for the trial of causes ecclesiastical, before William, Bishop of Norwich, and others, in the hall of the Bishop’s Palace at Norwich, Nicholas Wilkinson, gent., is brought before the Commissioners, and on being examined ‘ saith that he hath been heretofore a Recusant Papist, for the which he was convented before my Lord’s Grace of Canterbury and Justice Young And being further examined what conventicles in matters of religion he had frequented, he saith that he did not frequent any such unlawful assemblies, neither that he had been at any Popish Recusant’s house, saving only at Breccles, at the house of Francis Woodhouse, Esq. (whose wife is a Recusant), since his coming from London, and hath made his abode there in that house by the space of three weeks last past before this his examination.’ ”⁹

At this time there seem to have been living in the hall not only Francis Woodhouse and his wife and son, but a nephew, Thomas Woodhouse, with his wife Susan and a daughter, Frances, who was baptised at Breccles, October 24th, 1593. The nephew and his family were

papers from this office were removed to the custody of the Keeper of the Castle many years ago. Where are they now? I owe my hearty thanks to Mr. Charles Foster for permission to inspect the records in his office at the Shirehall.

⁹ I quote from a fragment of what appears to have been an Act Book of the Commissioners for the trial of causes ecclesiastical within the Diocese of Norwich—which is now in the Registry. In the case of this Nicholas Wilkinson the Commissioners order “that he shall go this evening unto Christchurch in Norwich, and there shall hear evening song, sitting in the choir, and shall there behave himself reverently during the time of prayer,” &c., &c.

Conformists; but in a few years, influenced no doubt by Eleanor Woodhouse and her Catholic friends, they too are brought round; and when Francis Woodhouse made his will in 1605, leaving all that remained of his property to his wife and son, he bequeathed the reversion, in case that son should die under age, to his nephew Thomas, who actually inherited the Stowe estate and some other lands about 1607.¹ Breccles Hall passed out of its first owner's hands in 1599. Doubtless it was a bitter day when Francis Woodhouse had to leave this house which he had himself raised, and was compelled to take refuge in a more humble dwelling. Conscience was a costly article in the sixteenth century, and a wife with religious views of a very decided character brought many a man in those days to poverty.

The next possessor of Breccles Hall was a personage of some note in his time, viz., Sir Robert Gardiner, Knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Ireland, from 1586 to 1624, and Viceroy there for some time in 1597. Sir Robert married three times. By his first wife, Ann Cordail, he had a son William, who died unmarried in his father's

¹ The will of *Francis Woodhouse* of Caston in the County of Norfolk, Esq., is dated 26 April, 1604. "And touching my temporal estate of goods and lands, I do give and bequeathe to *Eleanor* my wife my house and lands in Caston (*sic*), Stowbedon and Stowbeckerton after her death to my son *John Woodhouse* and his heirs: and if the said son die before his 21 years . . . [then] to *Thomas Woodhouse* my nephew and his heirs . . . Item, I give my said wife all such goods as are mentioned in certain Articles as are indented and made between me on the one part, and *John Whitehead* and *Israel Frere* on the other part, bearing date the 10th April last past . . ." Wife to have life interest in all "household stuff" and plate . . . "All the rest of my goods and chattels and debts" to go to "my said son. Howbeit nevertheless my will and meaning is that so much thereof as is above the sum of eight hundred pounds shall be to the present behoof and benefit of my said son, and the profit of the eight hundred pounds I will shall be ordered and disposed during the life of my said wife equally between my said wife and my said son"—The will is in Cur. Ep. Norw., *Original Wills* for 1605.

lifetime. I suspect that this son must have died shortly after Sir Robert came to settle at Breccles; for on the 2nd September, 6 Jac. I. (1609) Sir Robert made a settlement of his Norfolk and Suffolk property, giving his reason for so doing that he had "no issue of his body." Accordingly, Breccles and its appurtenances were to descend, after the death of Sir Robert and his wife, to his nephew William Webbe, and then to his eldest son John Webbe. There was another settlement, 31st March, 16 Jac. I. (1619) on the occasion of the marriage of John Webbe with Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Richardson, successively Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and King's Bench,² when Breccles was settled on John and Mary for life, with remainder, failing issue of the said John and Mary, to the four brothers of John.³ Sir Robert Gardiner died at Breccles Hall, February 12th, 1620, and John, his great-nephew, succeeded him there.⁴

I know little of John Webbe, but I find he was living at Breccles when the Commissioners came round to administer

² He was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 28th November, 1626, and promoted to the King's Bench, 24th October, 1631.

³ The information in this paragraph is entirely derived from the post mortem inquisition of *Sir Robert Gardiner, Knight*, held at the Castle, Norwich, 22nd September, 19 James I. The names of the sons of William Webbe (nephew of Sir Robert Gardiner) mentioned in the entail are (1) *John*, (2) *Robert*, (3) *William*, (4) *Anthony*, (5) *Gardiner Webbe*. The Norfolk estates were to go to *John* and his heirs; the Essex property to *Robert*, second son; the Elmswell estate in Suffolk to *Gardiner Webbe*, the fifth son. I feel sure, though I have at this moment no means of proving it, that the fourth son, *Anthony*, was the founder of the family of Webbe of Kensington, about which *Mr. Chester Waters* has much to say in his *Genealogical Memoirs of the Families of Cranmer and Wood*.

⁴ The entry in the register is curious.—"S^r Robert Gardener, Knight, the Phavorite of his ffamily, the Oracle of his acquaintance, the Glory of his friends, the staye of his countrye, died at Breccles Hall on the twelfth day of February, 1619, and was buryed at Elmeswell in Suffolk the 19 of the same monthe."

the Solemn League and Covenant in March, 1644-5. Mr. Samuel Warren, the vicar, signed without demur: not so Mr. Webbe. A stout old Royalist was Mr. Webbe, but he would bow in the house of Rimmon in his own fashion. This is what he says:—

“I subscribe to so much of this Covenant as I already know, or shall hereafter know, to be agreeable to the Word of God, laws of the kingdom, and my oaths formerly taken.—JOHN WEBB.”

Mr. Webbe had a daughter Ursula, who married⁵—(1) Sir William Hewitt, and by him had a son, Gardiner Hewitt, who succeeded as owner of Breccles Hall in 1678; and (2) Sir Robert Baldock of Tacolneston, Knight. Lady Baldock's will orders that she shall be buried in the chancel of Breccles church, and there I hope she lies.

Her will recites that Sir Robert Gardiner and her own father, John Webbe, the gentleman who signed the Covenant, had left benefactions to the poor of Breccles. I hope they received them.

This lady's son, Gardiner Hewitt, Esq., seems to have become embarrassed; at any rate he sold Breccles Hall and the estate to Wormly Hethersett, Esq., who was Mayor of Thetford in 1698, and who seems to have left the estate to his daughter Mary, wife of Joseph Randol, *alias* Baylis,⁶

⁵ The marriage is entered in the Breccles parish register, 6th December, 1638. The pair are described as “William Hewett, Esq^r., and Ursula Webb, Gent.” They had ten children baptised at Breccles, five sons and five daughters. Sir William Hewett was buried at Breccles, 5th April, 1667. His widow Ursula married secondly Sir Robert Baldock of Tacolneston, Knight, 25th April, 1670, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, who survived her. Her will is dated 30th September, 1674, and was proved (Cur. Ep. Norw.) 18th January, 1678. In it she desires to be buried in Breccles church, and there she was buried in the chancel in an *erect position*. The following is the inscription over her burial place,—*STAT UT VIXIT ERECTA*.

⁶ The marriage of “Mr Richard Baylis and M^{rs} Philadelphia Ryley” is duly entered in the parish register on 4th September, 1733. The baptisms of two

through whom it passed to the Taylors, the last of whom, Penelope Taylor, died at Breccles Hall 20th August, 1832, in her ninety-second year.

When the late Matthias Kerrison, Esq., came into possession of the hall, there were some memorials of all its previous occupants still existing. There were heraldic shields in stained glass in the windows, viz., Woodhouse impaling Tyrrell, Woodhouse with a crescent impaling Spelman, and three or four others. There was also some armour, probably of the Woodhouses.

Several pictures are recorded as having been in the hall: a picture of the Judgment of Solomon; family pictures of the Ryleys and Taylors, and some others.

Notable among these pictures was one of two nuns, who were said to have been related to the Webbes, and to have borne the name of Wolfe.⁷ Add to this a tradition that some Benedictine monks once lived in the house—a story which we must take for what it is worth—and we are tempted to suspect that Francis Woodhouse and his wife were not the last occupants of the hall who had sympathies with the Catholic creed and the Catholic cause.

Breccles Hall has a tragedy connected with it. Philip

sons and two daughters, of whom only one daughter, *Mary*, grew up, are also duly chronicled. This *Mary Baylis* married Philip Ryley Taylor, Esq., her first cousin.

⁷ I strongly suspect these "pictures of nuns" were portraits of *Penelope Wolfe*, (afterwards wife of *William Petre of Belhouse*), and her sister *Anne Wolfe*, who (as appears by an old MS. list still in existence) were at school with the Munich nuns at Hammersmith in 1682, and who probably while there wore a certain habit. These two ladies were the sisters of *Bridget Wolfe*, who married *John Webbe of London*, who died in 1729. From him are descended the *Webbe Suttons* of Sutton Court. "John Webbe of London" is pretty sure to have been a cousin of *Ursula Hewett*, i.e., he would be a son of one of the younger brothers of *John Webbe* who signed the Covenant. I am indebted to Mr. Foley for the clue to the connection between the Wolfes and Webbes.

Ryley Taylor, Esq., on the 17th of October, 1808, at the age of forty-six, blew out his brains here with a gun, in the very room which Sir Edward Kerrison occupied as his bed-room. Into this matter I think it not advisable to enter.⁶ My friend Mr. Grigson could say more of the later history of Breccles than I am qualified to do; to him I am indebted for the Pedigrees which will show at a glance the descent of the two families who possessed Breccles Hall after it passed out of the hands of its original owner.

[I owe the Members of the Society some apology for the familiar and colloquial style of this paper. It was written at very short notice, to be read during an excursion of the members to Breccles, and without any view to publication. When the Society did me the honour to ask for its appearance among the "Original Papers," I thought it better to print it almost as it was read.]

⁶ There is another curious tradition regarding Breccles handed down by the Taylor family, a tradition which not only Mrs. Jones firmly believed and related to Mr. Grigson as sober fact, but which Mr. J. S. F. Taylor of Breccles near Reading, the oldest living representative of the family, tells us he has firmly believed all his life. This tradition reports that Sir Paul Neile (son of Richard Neile, Archbishop of York) killed himself at Breccles. After going carefully into the question I am compelled to conclude that there is no credit to be placed in the story. Colonel Chester kindly inspected for me the Probate Act of Sir Paul Neile's Will: in that he is described as "Late of Codnor Castle, co. Derby, but *who died in the parish of St. Clement Danes, Middlesex.*" After that I think there can be no further doubt about the matter.

Sir Robert Gardiner, Knt., eighteen years Chief Justice of Ireland, temp. Queen Elizabeth, and for two years Viceroy there, died 12th February, 1619, aged 80; buried in Elmswell Church, Suffolk; devising his estate there to Gardiner Webbe (said to have been his nephew) by will. The Breccles estate, of which Sir Robert Gardiner was also the owner, came to John Webbe, the elder brother of the above Gardiner Webbe.

William Webbe of Breccles, Gent. Will dated 7 Dec. = Elizabeth, dau. of
1624, proved (Archd. Norw.) 22 Aug. 1626. Living 22 Aug. 1626.

Gardiner Webbe, Esq. younger = Mary, dau. of John Webbe, Esq. of Breccles, Mary, dau. of Sir Thos. son, succeeded to the Elmswell Richard, Lord Chief estate on the death of (his uncle She died 15 Apr. Justice of England, died as it is said) Sir Robt. Gardiner. 1659, buried at 10 March, 1666, aged 56; Gardiner Webbe died 15 March, in Breccles Church. Will 1674, buried at Elmswell. proved (Archd. Sudbury).

Catherine Ann Robert W.
Webbe, Webbe, bur. at St.
died 30 Mar. died 15 Peter's
1675; bur. at Mar. 1674; Mancroft
Elmswell. bur. in St. in Norwich
Mary's Ch. 28 July,
Bury. 1656.

Sir Wm. Hewyt. = Ursula Webbe. = Sir Robert Baldocke of Taol-
Knt. of Breccles iure Will dated 30 neston, Knt. and Serjt.-at-Law,
uxoris, Knighted 20 Sep. 1674, prov. sometime a Judge of the King's
Nov. 1660, died 4 (Cur. Ep. Nor.) Bench. Marriage articles dated
April, 1667, aged 62; 18 Jan'y, 1678, 25 April, 1670. He died 4 Oct.
buried in Breccles desired to be 1691. — Entry in Taolneston
Church. 1 husband. buried in Breccles Register. 2 husband.

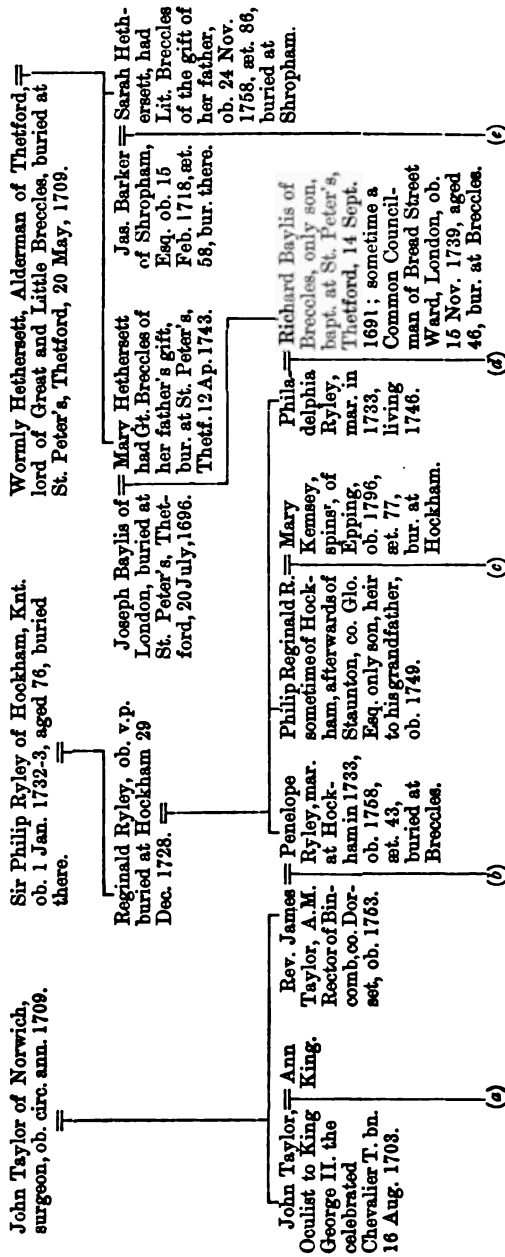
Ursula Webbe. = Sir Robert Baldocke of Taol-
Will dated 30 neston, Knt. and Serjt.-at-Law,
Sep. 1674, prov. sometime a Judge of the King's
(Cur. Ep. Nor.) Bench. Marriage articles dated
18 Jan'y, 1678, 25 April, 1670. He died 4 Oct.
desired to be 1691. — Entry in Taolneston
buried in Breccles Register. 2 husband.

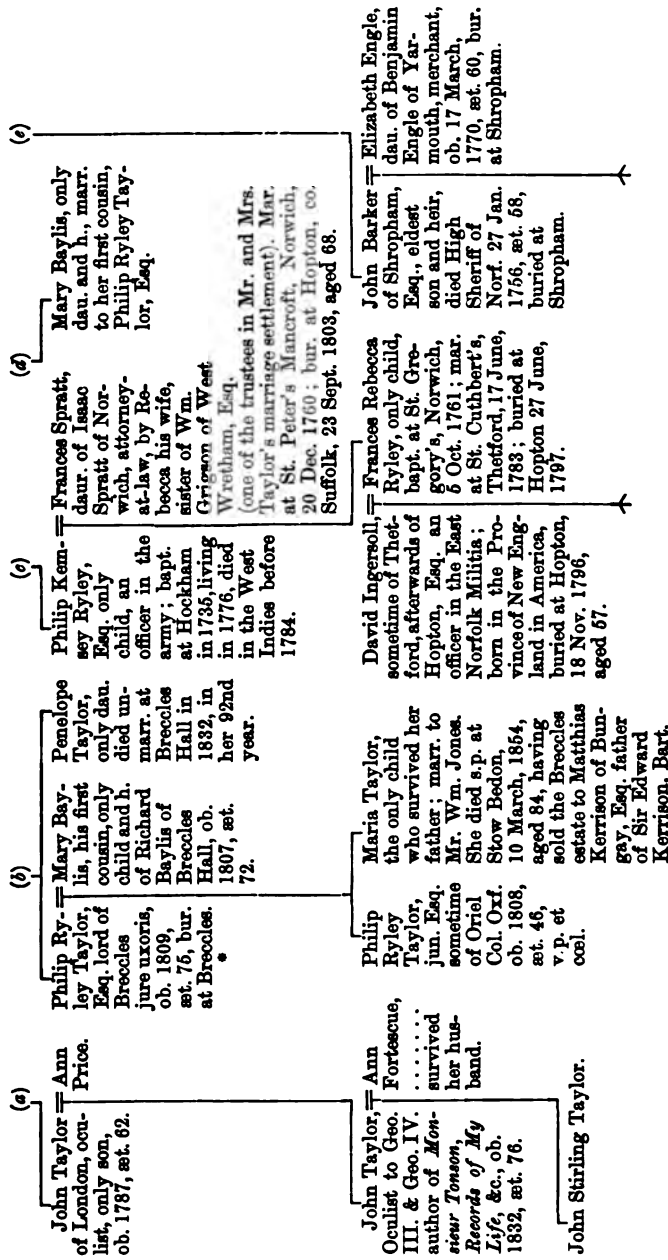
Eliz. Hewyt, Mary Hewitt, Ursula H.
living unmar. also living dau. of = Gardiner Hewyt = Margt. Hewyt,
30 Sept. 1674. also 30 Sept. unmar. 30 of Breccles, Esq. dau. of executrix to her
Sep. 1674. Talbot of estate to Wormly eldest son, sold his brother John
Carleton Hethersett, an al- derman of Thet- ford, in 1687. Chaud. Hewyt; marr.
Rode. soner in the Charterhouse hav. been uncle Arms in Sheppard of . . .
in 1699, died and was buried & next friend to Leadenhall She was liv. 18 Dec.
there about 1720. Wm. son of Jno. Street. 1682, being then the
executrix of the will
of Sir Paul Neile.

Henry Tooley, Clerk, of Watton, and Mary
Hewett, married 6 May, 1678. — Taolneston
Register.
The manor of Little Breccles in Little Breccles
and Shropham was included in the purchase
of Gardiner Hewyt.

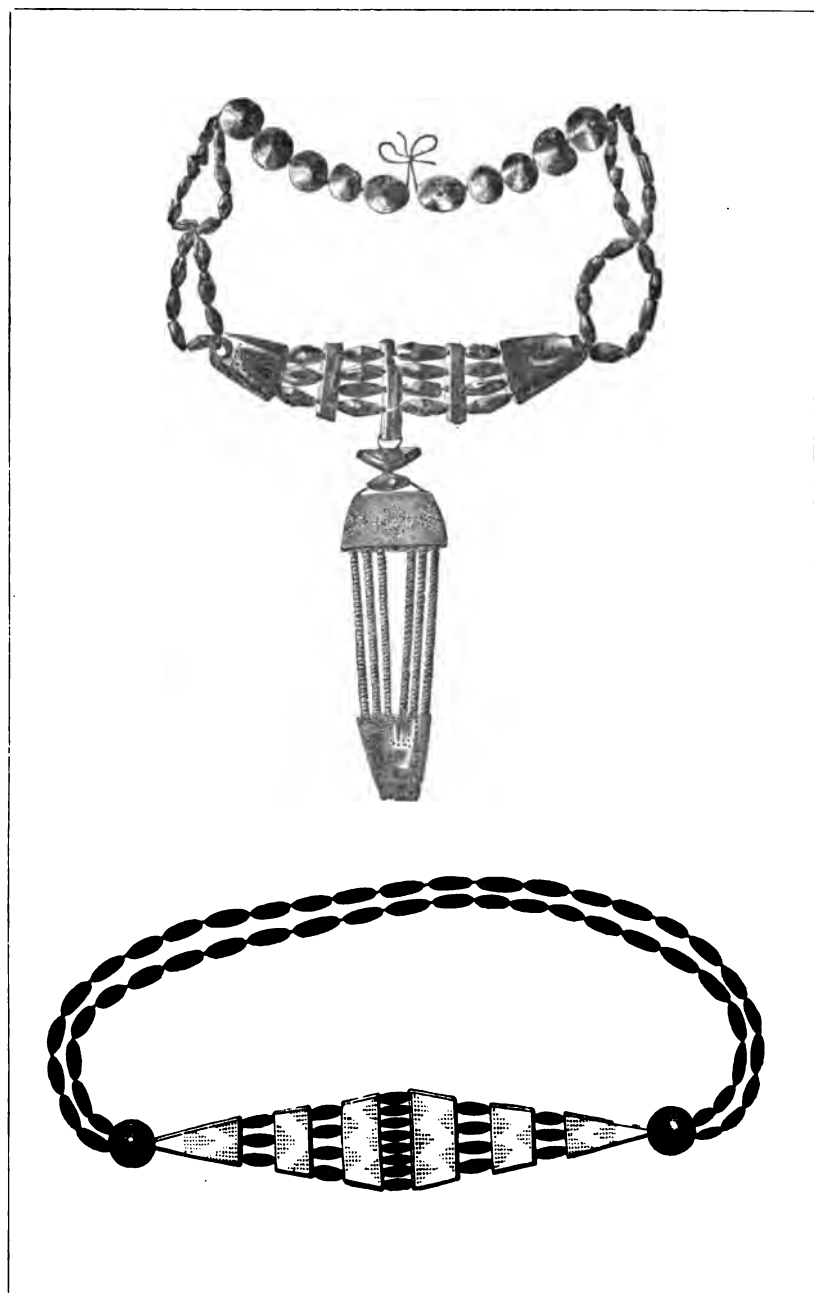
1. Robt. Hewyt, died in infancy.

2. Wm. Hewyt, died in infancy.





* Mr. Taylor by his will appointed as his executor Edward Harvey Grigson, son of Wm. Grigson of Wretham, and father of Wm. Grigson, M.A., late Doctor of Whinbergh.



BRITISH NECKLACES FOUND IN DERBYSHIRE.

Bone Ornaments,

FORMING

PART OF A NECKLACE OF THE BRITISH PERIOD,
FOUND IN FELTWELL FEN, 1876.

COMMUNICATED BY

THE REV. C. R. MANNING, M.A.,

HON. SECRETARY.

THE district of the Fens has produced, from time to time, a great variety of objects of much interest to the archaeologist. The gradual growth of the peat has served in many cases to prevent the destruction of antiquities which might otherwise have long ago disappeared; and some of these, from the nature of the case, are of the very earliest class. The articles of bone now illustrated are believed to be the only ones of the kind found in Norfolk; and without comparison with similar ones discovered in other parts of the country, it might have been difficult to say with certainty what they were. Their exact correspondence, however, with certain personal ornaments found in more perfect condition elsewhere, renders their purpose quite evident, and also determines the age to be ascribed to them. They are simply the dividing plates of a necklace of stringed beads, worn by a female of the British period. They were found in 1876, in clay soil, about five feet below the surface, and just above a bed of sand in Feltwell Fen, and exhibited to our Society by Mr. G. Archer and the Rev. T. Jones, at the

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annual meeting in that year. Only three pieces have been preserved, but probably a careful search at the time might have recovered several more of the tablets, as well as of beads. Two of these are quadrangular pieces of bone, and one triangular, formed of the long bones of some domestic animal. They are flat on the upper side, and slightly hollowed underneath by the natural make of the bone. They are ornamented with rows of punctured dots, forming lozenge-shaped figures. The edges of the bone, which are a quarter of an inch thick, are drilled with holes, through which threads were passed, so that with several rows of beads between, the whole would form a long necklace. Comparison with other examples will show the disposition of the tablets, and their use as dividing plates between the rows of beads, better than any description.

The first similar discovery I will mention was made in a British barrow at Lake, Wiltshire. The objects there found are extremely like those under consideration, and are made in one instance of bone, and in another of amber. The tumuli were opened by the Rev. Edward Duke in 1806, and in a stone cist which was sunk twenty inches below the surface, with remains of burnt bones, these ornaments were found. They were described and figured by Sir Richard Colt Hoare,¹ but were not understood at the time, and thought to be ornaments strung together lengthwise, without any intervening beads. The amber tablets, which are now preserved among the interesting collections of antiquities at Lake House, have been more fully described by the late Dr. Thurnam.² They were found in these barrows on the Wiltshire Downs, about two miles from Stonehenge, in several instances round the necks of skeletons. Dr. Thurnam's account will be best given in his own words.

¹ *Ancient Wiltshire*, i. p. 212.

² *Archæologia*, xliii. p. 506, fig. 199. See also *Wiltshire Magazine*, xvi. 181, and Mr. E. T. Stevens's *Jottings of the Stonehenge Excursion*, 1876, p. 92.

"They occur in sets of three, six, and eight. These plates, found with seven interments, five of them burnt, are about a quarter-inch thick, rounded at the upper and lower margins, and vary in size from one to three inches in length, and from three quarters to one and a half inch in width. In the vertical edges are a series of equi-distant perforations, which, according to the size, are four, six, or even ten in number. The perforations mostly pass through from edge to edge, and are bored with great accuracy, probably with a metallic borer, worked most likely with a bow drill. The plates are always accompanied by beads of the same material, and there can be no doubt that the two were strung together, so as to form symmetrical ornaments analogous to those of jet found in the barrows of Derbyshire and North Britain. The perforations in the three plates of the lesser collars, as well as in the four outer plates of the large, run straight through from edge to edge; but in the four larger and more central plates of the latter, only the upper and lower perforations run through the plates, whilst the eight which are intermediate go a little way in, and pass out again, each two adjoining perforations communicating right and left by a curvilinear canal. This very ingenious method has probably been contrived to insure the better set of the larger ornaments, as well as for more security: it being obvious that if the through-and-through perforations had been continued from one to the other end of the ornament, the breaking of one or two sets of threads might have resulted in the loss of the great part of the whole." The larger collar here described by Dr. Thurnam "comprised eight large dividing plates, and nearly 200 beads, and when arranged in an easy curve would have measured 15 inches across and 25 inches in length in the lower curvature. When worn it must have extended from shoulder to shoulder, hanging half-way down to the waist. None of these amber plates present any trace of surface decoration." The

perforations in the Feltwell plates pass out immediately at the back, in the curve of the bone, except in the triangular or end piece, where they run through from end to end.

The next locality where similar ornaments have been found is Derbyshire, where the ancient burial places have yielded such a rich harvest of beautiful and instructive articles. A barrow on Middleton Moor was opened by Mr. Bateman³ in 1848, in which was found a cist formed of rough masses of stone surrounding the skeleton of a woman, lying on her left side, in a partially contracted position. Above her lay the remains of an infant, and about her neck was a remarkably fine necklace of jet and bone. By the kindness of Llewellyn Jewitt, Esq., F.S.A., I am enabled to illustrate this paper with a representation of this necklace, from the cut which has appeared in several works.⁴ Here the dividing plates are narrow in proportion to their width, and the purpose of the triangular or terminal plates is clearly seen. The various pieces of which this elaborate necklace is composed amount to 420 in number, viz., 348 thin laminæ, 54 of cylindrical form, and the remaining 18 conical studs, and the perforated plates, which are ornamented with surface punctures. The second example here figured, also by the kindness of Mr. Jewitt, corresponds very closely with the Feltwell pieces, and probably the whole necklace may have been of this form. It is also one of those found by Mr. Bateman in Derbyshire. It consists of seventy-two elongated beads of jet, disposed in a double string, and terminated by a larger cylindrical bead at each end, where the dividing plates, which are of bone, and

³ *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 24.

⁴ *Grave-Mounds and their Contents*, p. 123 (Groombridge), a most useful manual of archæology for the Celtic, Roman, and Saxon periods, profusely illustrated; also *Half-hours among some English Antiquities* (Hardwick) p. 204; Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 25; *Archæological Association Journal*, vii. p. 216; *Crania Britannica*, ii. pl. 35.

are separated by similar beads, form the front part of the necklace.

In another barrow, called Grind Low, at Over Haddon, Derbyshire, a necklace of the same class was found, of which the ornaments were seventy-three in number, twenty-six being cylindrical beads, thirty-nine conical studs of jet, pierced at the back by two holes meeting at an angle in the centre, and the remaining eight dividing plates ornamented in front with a chevron pattern. Of these seven are jet, laterally perforated with three holes; and the eighth of bone, ornamented in the same style, but with nine holes on one side, diminishing to three on the other by being bored obliquely.⁵ Worked flint accompanied several of these Derbyshire interments. The skeletons are all reported by Mr. Bateman to be those of females. Mr. John Evans, in his valuable and exhaustive work on *Stone Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain*, has referred to several more finds of this class, and has engraved one or two beautiful examples. One, which had been previously published in Professor Wilson's *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*,⁶ was found in an urn within a barrow at Assynt, Ross-shire, in 1824. Here the dividing plates are of jet, and beautifully ornamented, not with punctured dots, but inlaid with minute *pins of gold*, with surprising skill. A similar instance of inlaying is afforded by the handle of a dagger found by Sir R. Colt Hoare in a barrow at Normanton, Wiltshire.⁷ The dagger is of bronze, and the handle of excellent design and execution, its lower part incrustated with minute gold pins, arranged in chevronry patterns between straight bands. It will be remembered that a necklace of amber beads, together with certain objects of gold, of the British

⁵ *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 48; Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, p. 411.

⁶ Vol. i. p. 435, and *Arch. Inst. Catalogue of Mus. um, Edinburgh*, p. 15.

⁷ Hoare's *South Wiltshire*, p. 203.

period, were found in 1849 at Little Cressingham, Norfolk, and illustrated by Mr. Barton in our own volumes.⁸ A male skeleton was discovered, in earth which appeared to have formerly been a tumulus, with bronze weapons, a gold plate on the breast, amber beads scattered about the neck, a portion of a gold armilla, and what was described as a small gold box, the upper and lower parts being equal, and thought to have been an amulet, and remains of two other "boxes." In one of the Upton Lovell barrows, Wiltshire, examined by Mr. Cunnington, a burnt body was accompanied by somewhat similar little boxes of gold, thirteen drum-like gold beads perforated at two places in the sides, a large plate of thin gold highly ornamented, a conical stud covered with gold, some large plates of amber, and about a thousand amber beads. Mr. Evans⁹ is inclined to think "that the so-called boxes may have been merely the coverings of some discs of wood perforated horizontally, and thus forming large flat gold-plated beads. The gold itself is not perforated, but the edges appear to be much broken. Possibly the supposed lids and boxes were in both cases the coverings of one face only of a wooden bead. Mr. Cunnington thought they might have covered the ends of staves. From the occurrence of weapons in these interments, it seems probable that this class of decoration was not confined to the female sex, but that, like most savages, the men of ancient Britain were as proud of finery as the women, even if they did not excel them in this particular."

Mr. Evans also engraves some flat plates, almost exactly like the Feltwell ones, but of jet, found with conical studs and beads of various shapes, at Pen-y-Bonc, near Ty-mawr, Holyhead.¹ His illustration of these shows the reverse side

⁸ *Norfolk Archaeology*, iii. 1.

⁹ P. 414.

¹ P. 412; also *Archæological Journal*, xxiv. p. 257, and *Proceedings Soc. Ant.*, i. p. 34.

of one, and the method by which the threads passed in and out, and also a conjectural restoration of the whole. He mentions several more Scotch examples of this class of ornament, as at Aberlemno, Forfarshire;² at Rothie, Aberdeenshire, with beads of amber, burnt bones, and fragments of bronze;³ Fordorin House, Kincardineshire, and Leuchland Toll, near Brechin;⁴ also at Rafford, Elginshire; Houstoun, Renfrewshire; and at Letham, Forfarshire,⁵ where they are described as being strung together with the fibres of animals.

In the Yorkshire barrows jet ornaments of a similar character have been found, as at Egton, where were two flint arrow-heads and one spear-head with them. The plates are here joined by long bugles and studs.⁶ These remains are now to be seen in the interesting little museum at Scarborough. Others have been found at Pickering, Yorkshire; and some from Soham Fen, Cambridgeshire, a near locality to Feltwell, are in the British Museum.

From these observations it is sufficiently evident what was the use of these objects, which at first sight have a somewhat strange appearance; and it only remains to say that the age to be ascribed to them may be reasonably attributed to the time when weapons and implements of stone were being gradually superseded by those of bronze. By the kindness of Mr. G. Archer of Feltwell, who procured these relics for our Society's inspection, I have been allowed to retain them among my own collection.

² *Pre-historic Annals of Scotland*, iii., p. 78.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. p. 203.

⁴ *Arch. Inst. Cat. Edinb. Mus.*, p. 15.

⁵ *Wilson's Pre-hist. Ann.*, i. 434 to 436.

⁶ *Arch. Association Journal*, vi. p. 4; xx. p. 104.

APPENDIX.

*Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee and the
General Meetings.*

1871, *November 7th.* MR. MANNING exhibited a bead of white pottery, one inch and a quarter in diameter, of the Saxon period, found at Shimpling, Norfolk, in the same year.

MR. FITCH exhibited a drawing from the Rev. W. Howard, of a coffin-lid of the fourteenth century, found at Great Witchingham.

1872, *April 24th.* The REV. A. G. LEGGE, of North Elmham, exhibited a collection of pieces of pottery, stained glass, tiles, thimbles, a portion of a weapon, and other articles, found upon the site of the Old Castle at North Elmham, built by Bishop Spencer in the time of Rich. II.

MR. T. G. BAYFIELD exhibited a panel painting of the Entombment of Christ, found in a cottage at Southwold, Suffolk; also some other panels, each 13 inches high by 12 wide, found in taking down some cottages in Hubby's Yard, St. Saviour's, Norwich. These were found to be portions of an early picture representing several scenes of the Crucifixion, probably intended for a retable or altar-piece.

September 5th. MR. FITCH exhibited a white stone-ware mug, of Fulham manufacture, having the stamp "W. R." crowned, found at the corner of London Street, Norwich; also a fine flint arrow-head, of the neolithic age, found at Panxworth.

MR. MANNING exhibited a British gold coin, preserved and believed to have been found at Bressingham, near Diss. It is similar to the coin No. 2, plate C. in Mr. John Evans' "Gold British Coins," and weighs 94 grains. Mr. Evans, in a letter received from him, states that it is a rare coin, and this specimen gives reason for the belief that this type belongs to the Eastern Counties.

MR. MANNING also exhibited some porcelain roundels, used as wall decorations, from a palace of the Ptolemaic period at Tel-el-Yahoudyeh, brought from Egypt by Mr. Greville Chester. Some more specimens have been presented to the Norwich Museum by Mr. Chester.

1873, *January 2nd.* MR. FITCH exhibited an impression of a bronze seal in the possession of Captain Shaw, R.N., Norwich, formerly belonging to the Rev. Dr. Sutton. It bears the arms of three bugle horns (Sutton), and the supporters two griffins: crest, a talbot sejant (Conolly?), with the inscription, "S. Richardi Blanwic." It appears to be of the date *circa* 1450, but to have had the original coat of arms erased and those of Sutton inserted.

MR. FITCH also exhibited two bronze celts found some years ago by the Rev. Joseph Church on Frettenham Common, and another from Methwold Churchyard, with spiral marks on the sides. Some accurate tracings, made about twenty-five years since, of the painted glass formerly in the East window of the South aisle of Ringland Church, were reported by Mr. Fitch to be in his possession. The glass is now lost.

The REV. J. W. MILLARD exhibited a silver seal with a

trefoil handle of the date 1591, having the arms of Calthorpe; also a curious triple silver seal, *circa* 1500, with (1) a heart pierced with arrows, and crowned; (2) a heart and arrows, not crowned; (3) a crown alone: the three parts fit into one seal.

June 4th. MR. FITCH exhibited a very fine silver seal, *circa* 1370; of which the handle contains a screw, to thrust out the centre and form a *secretum*. It is inscribed SIGILL. BARTHOLOMEI. EDRICH. The device, within tracery, is a standing figure of a palmer (?) with hat, staff, and escallop shell, holding a shield charged with three lions' heads, erased. Bartholomew Edrich was lord of the manor of Thrigby, in 1398. The family of Edrich was connected with several places in Norfolk, as Shipdham, Southacre, Carlton, and Hilborough. The crest is mentioned in *Blomefield*, vi. 114; x. 12, 119. Two other seals of similar construction are known; one, of Thomas de Prayers, is engraved in the *Archæologia*, xxix. p. 405; the other, imperfect, is in the British Museum.

MR. MANNING exhibited a stone celt, dug up with several others in the parsonage garden, Tarraville, South Gipps Land, Australia: it is of the neolithic type, and the edge only is polished.

MR. BONNER, Churchwarden of East Rudham, sent for exhibition some alabaster fragments found during the alteration of the Church there: they are of very good design, and appear to have formed part of a reredos or altar-piece, *circa* 1350—1400. The following subjects are represented:—St. John in a cauldron of oil; the Crucifixion, a soldier standing by with a spear, at the feet a kneeling angel with a chalice for the falling blood; a figure holding a lamb (?); two figures seated, one with the left hand on a globe; two figures, one an angel with a scroll, the other larger, having a crowned staff; a standing figure with a

pig at the feet, with a bell on its neck, probably St. Anthony; part of the figure of the Blessed Virgin and a lily pot, being the Annunciation; a portion of an entombment, and the head of the Blessed Virgin, crowned. From the same church, the Rev. E. J. Alvis sent photographs of a gable cross, on which are holes where a crucifix has been fixed.

MR. R. GILBERT, jun., of Rockland St. Mary, sent a drawing of a monument of the Gawdy family, 1664, in Claxton Church, which he considered in danger of injury from the unsafe state of the roof.

DR. BENSLY exhibited a tracing of a map of Norwich in the Record Office, London, of the date 1541, earlier than any known, and apparently intended to show the bounds of sanctuary, in which convicted persons might take refuge; and an illuminated pedigree of the Cufaude family, 1621, in the possession of Mr. Chute, of the Vine, Basingstoke, the present owner of the Cuffold estate.

October 16/h. MR. FITCH exhibited a brass seal, with a figure of St. John Baptist, found at St. Matthew's, Ipswich: inscription, "ECCE ANGUS (*sic*) DEI," *circa* 1500; a fine polished flint celt, found at Blofield; and an iron spear-head, probably Saxon, found at Thorpe-by-Norwich, near the residence of the Rev. W. Frost, where antiquities previously reported were discovered.

MR. MANNING exhibited a photograph of a fine early English wheel window, the broken portions of which were found in the chancel walls of St. Margaret's, Lynn, and reported the discovery of a small hexagon building on the South side of the choir aisle, abutting on the site of the South transept. This window, of which an illustration is here given, was perhaps the predecessor of the circular perpendicular window now in the East wall of the chancel. From the fragments found it must have been a superb

wheel of sixteen lights, with a large octofoil in the centre. The mouldings, both inside and out, are richly carved with early English foliage and floriated dog-tooth. The date is apparently about 1220.

DR. BENSLY exhibited drawings of some mural decoration of the thirteenth century, on the South wall of the chamber over the "dark entry," Norwich Cathedral; and of a circle, with a lion, on the plaster of the South wall of the chamber over the South-east angle of the cloister, partly covered by the floor of the chamber above.

1874, *May 20th*. MR. GUNN exhibited a photograph of the skull of a skeleton found on the premises of Mr. Lacey, Prince's Street, Norwich; with which was found a bone draughtsman, of Danish or Norwegian type, similar to one engraved in these volumes, (*ante* v. 232.)

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN (*President*) called attention to the curious hole in the roof of the nave of Norwich Cathedral: it had been supposed by the late Mr. Harrod that it had been used for the purpose of letting down a man habited as an angel swinging a censer over the congregation. In Lambard's *Topographical Dictionary* it is said that at Whitsuntide at St. Paul's Cathedral the coming down of the Holy Ghost was set forth by a white pigeon let fall out of a hole in the roof, a long censer being made to descend out of the same place almost to the ground, and swung up and down to such a length that it reached nearly to the West end of the church and to the choir stairs. The Dean said that in the Cathedral accounts there are frequent entries of payments for "*pictura angeli*," "*emendatione angeli*," &c., and he supposed that a figure of an angel, not a man, might have been suspended from the roof in this way, at Whitsuntide, to swing a censer.

The impending destruction of Becket's Chapel, attached to the Black Friars' Monastery, now St. Andrew's Hall,

was referred to, and it was agreed that a remonstrance should be sent to the Corporation of Norwich.

June 16th. DR. BENSLY exhibited an earthen jar of "acoustic pottery," discovered in the upper part of the wall of the chancel of East Harling Church. It is of thin blackish grey ware, apparently of an early date, one foot in diameter, and ten inches high.

September 30th. MR. MANNING exhibited an impression of a seal attached to a deed of 4th Henry VI., of Walter, Lord Fitzwalter, relating to Diss: one of the supporters of the shield is a female figure.

November 3rd. MR. FITCH exhibited a brass seal, with a figure of St. Catharine, inscribed SAVNCA CATERINA, found in the parish of St. Mary, Norwich.

1875, *April 6th.* MR. MANNING exhibited an iron-bound coffer, or small deed chest, preserved in the church chest, Burgate, Suffolk. It is of the latter part of the fourteenth century.

MR. MANNING exhibited a Saxon silver penny, of Coenwulf, King of Mercia, found at Bircham Tofts, Norfolk,—*Obv.* + COENWULF REX. $\overline{\text{Y}}$. *Rev.* + PERNEARD MONETA, with the device of a small square inclosing a pellet, with branches from the sides and angles, similar to that engraved by Hawkins, *Silver Coins*, plate v. fig. 73. (edit. 1876), the name of the moneyer being different. This coin is rare.

MR. GUNN exhibited a human skull, found 42 feet below the surface of the ground, at the Foundry Bridge, Norwich, near the chalk. Celts, or polished flints, are said to have been found with it. It is probably that of a female of the age of 46 to 50, and of low mental development.

April 27th. The ancient bushel measure of the Corporation of Norwich, lately found among some lumber at the Guildhall, was exhibited; and has since been deposited in the Museum.

MR. ARTHUR PRÆSTON exhibited some autograph letters of Sir Thomas Browne, Bishop Corbet, and Bishop Hall. That of Bishop Corbet is as follows:—

My Honorable Lrd;

Not longe after your Lrdships Election theis verses were brought mee in honor of the Chancellor; sure the man had a good meaning that made them and is rather to bee comēded for his nature then his Art. It is in your Lrdships power wheather your self will read them or not, and as much in the same power wheather any else shall read thē for as yet they have past no hands but mine alone, and are not in the memory scarce in the Conscience of the Author.

.

Londinensis in Angelum Cathedræ!

Pœan; Oxonii quod eligatur
 Est hoc Judicii; Quod eligatur
 Omnes ante alios Amoris hoc est;
 Vincendo geminū Decus reportat,
 Affectu fruitur Sibi dicato
 Detractoq; aliis. Simul creatur
 Vno sic titulo bis Alter Idem.

Bis præses meritò; An Caput præseset

Cui imponant Cerebro disertiora

De Vulgi mediocritate membra?

An tot præbyteros doceret vnus

Aulæ Laicus? Aulicusne tanti est?

Vt nobis Dominus præseset Ille

Qui seruum acciperet Sibi futurum

Ductorem, et Dominū? pudet peric'li;

At nunc Mitra Togam trahit sequacem;

Nunc Matrem pater Vniuersitatem;

Expertus Juuenem; senem Verendus

Artes Relligio; piusq; doctos;

Et Qui Templā regit Scholas gubernat;

Vultis plaudere fortids Camæenæ?

Delectum hunc Catharus, Britoq; damnant.

Cambros, et Catharos Vincis certamine in uno?

Væ Tibi; Noster eras Arminianus eris.

may all those honors bee multiplied uppon your Lrdship w^{ch} you haue
allready in the wishes

of your Lrdships humble freind
and seruant

Cassington this 27th
of April

1630.

RICH: OXON.

(Indorsed)

To the Right Reverend
Honorable the Lrd Bish
att his Lrdships Palace n
Church present theis. [Torn]

[The letter is addressed to *Laud*, afterwards Archbishop of Conterbury. He had been elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford on the 12th April and confirmed on the 28th, i.e., the day after the date of Bishop Corbet's letter.]

June 1st. MR. BLAKE HUMFREY exhibited two MS. volumes of his own execution, containing the Arms, &c., of the Sheriffs of Norfolk from the year 1199, beautifully illuminated.

MR. MANNING mentioned that the common bell inscription, "*Dulcis sisto melis Campana vocor Mich'ls*," had been explained in *Notes and Queries*, fifth Series, iii. 415, to mean "I am sweet in strains; I am called the bell of Michael"—*Sisto* being the same as *sum*; and *melis* an ablative plural of a medieval Latin word "*melos*." The following churches in Norfolk have bells with this inscription:—Bintry, Dickleburgh, Drayton, Hickling, Narford, Norwich St. George Colegate and St. Mary Coslany, Ormesby St. Michael, Reymerston, and West Rudham.

November 2nd. DR. JESSOPP exhibited a MS. parish book of Outwell and Upwell, apparently belonging to the Fincham family, of the sixteenth century, with records of earlier times, including the will of Gilbert Haultoft, Baron of the Exchequer, 1457, and a terrier of his property. The will was printed in the Society's second volume, p. 99. A further account of the book appears in the present volume, p. 177.

1876, *January 27th*. SIR FRANCIS BOILEAU exhibited a silver wine tester, a plain thin bowl, with seven circles punched in the base, and a hall mark, found in Breydon water, about 1870.

Sir F. Boileau also exhibited a sketch of a round British shield, found June 7th, 1875, on a piece of land called Brighurn, at Sutton, near Stalham, on the estate of Mr. Burroughs, wine-merchant of Yarmouth. It is made of a soft metal, and is ornamented with a punched-up fluted circle, and has a hollow in the centre with a handle across. It is said to have since been bought for the nation for a large sum.

March 9th. DR. BENSLY exhibited a MS. book of inscriptions in St. Stephen's Church, Norwich, by Benjamin Mackerell, belonging to the Churchwardens, of the date of 1729—1737, and continued to a later time.

MR. FITCH exhibited some Roman pottery found at Mr. Ranson's, Mousehold, Norwich, near the back of Mr. Cooke's house, consisting of a small gourd-shaped bottle and a cup, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with some fragments of larger pottery.

July 25th. The REV. T. JONES of Sporle, exhibited some portions of a British necklace of bone, found in Feltwell Fen, 1876. (Described in the present volume, p. 319.)

MR. FITCH exhibited drawings, made for the Society, of a mural painting discovered on the walls of Arminghall Church, (since destroyed). They consist of a representation of St. Christopher, a diaper of letters A, with a consecration cross below, and a text; and are of the sixteenth-century.

September 22nd. MR. MANNING communicated the following notes on the architecture of Framingham Earl Church,

visited by the Members, and on the date to be ascribed to buildings of the same class:

"This little Church (I speak of it as it was some years ago, before its restoration) is one of those which are now attributed, I think without much doubt, to the first half of the eleventh century, previous to the Norman Conquest, but after the year 1000. There are probably some 200 of such churches existing still, or which have portions of them of this date, by far the larger number of them being in the Eastern Counties, and especially in Lincolnshire and Norfolk. They are characterised by much simplicity, almost rudeness, of construction, and it is particularly to be remarked that the methods followed by their builders, may be called *stone carpentry*; they are in many points really wooden in their idea, although done in stone. We find in many of them just such construction as may have been seen in the wooden buildings they succeeded, such as straight-sided arches, long and short work, baluster shafts, panelling like posts, circular windows, and no buttresses. We know that the old English (Saxons) built a great deal in wood. Those lofty earthen mounds, which we find at so many of our old castles, are now known to be all of their construction, of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and neither British nor Norman, as has been supposed; and these were surmounted by wooden buildings, which of course have long since perished. The stone castles which were afterwards erected upon them, or beside them, were the work of the Normans. Then the great majority of the churches, after our ancestors became Christians, were built of wood, and these were easily destroyed by fire when the Danes ravaged the country. Canute, however, himself was converted to Christianity, and we know that he made an order that the Churches which he and his father Sweyn had destroyed should be rebuilt of stone and lime. This would be about the year 1020. Here, then, we have one reason for attributing these plain structures to that date, and especially in the Eastern districts, which were most exposed to the Danish invasions. Then we know that very little stone building went on in Europe between the fall of the Roman power and the year 1000. There was a general expectation that the world was to come to an end in that year, and there was much general stagnation in great undertakings. But as soon as the year was over, and men's fears were dispelled, a change took place, which was very marked in the building of churches. It was so, therefore, in this country; and the churches began to be built and rebuilt, at first in a rude wooden style, and then with much gradual improvement, as the influence of the Normans extended over the land. The Norman Conquest itself made but little change in the modes of life. The people were the same, only with new lords in the seats of the old English chiefs, and their arts and sciences made the same progress they might have made if the people had remained unconquered, only instructed and accelerated by closer contact with ideas from their French masters. The Normans, we know, had great building propensities; and the Danes, who were also Northmen of a kindred race, may also have had the same faculty, and thus the churches that arose after the order made by Canute, would show much advance on those they had destroyed, and would soon be themselves succeeded by buildings of larger and superior type.

"There are these reasons, therefore, and I think they are convincing, and

are admitted now by our best archæologists, for attributing the date of the first half of the eleventh century to such churches as we find possessing the characteristics of what we have been in the habit of calling the Saxon style. There may, no doubt, be a few older stone buildings in the country, such as the curious recovered church at Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, but they must be very rare. Those in our own county, of which Great Dunham is one of the best, and this one of Framingham Earl is a plainer example, may, I think, without fear be so attributed. Its plan consists of a small nave and chancel, divided by a circular arch, and a round tower at the west end, with a belfry arch. The walls are of rubble, and of considerable thickness; and the east end was probably terminated by an apse, as the wall there is more modern. The ground plan, which I made many years ago, shows the chancel to become narrower towards the east, whether intentionally or not cannot be said, making the shape to be that of a ship or a coffin. It was lighted by double-splayed circular windows, and when these were undergoing repair I happened to be present, and found, in the centre of the wall, a groove round the opening in its narrowest part, in which was inserted a circular wooden frame, pierced with eyelet holes, evidently in order to thread with string, or some such substance, to keep out birds or weather, in the place where glass would now be. The same thing has since been found at South Lopham and elsewhere. The circumstance was recorded in the fourth volume of the Society's Papers, page 363.

"It would appear that about a century after the time of which I have been speaking, this church received considerable additions in a more advanced style. The chancel arch is Norman, and a fine specimen, with chevron and other mouldings, and the north and south doors are of the same date. The belfry arch may possibly be of the earlier period, as there must have been one from the tower to the nave at first. The east window of the fourteenth century, and the Perpendicular additions, require no further comment."

1877, *March 6th*. DR. BENSLY communicated the discovery of some more mural paintings on the walls of West Somerton Church, as reported by the Rev. J. Budd; also a curious painting of the Virgin and Child on a narrow thick piece of deal, suggested to have been part of a Rood.

May 1st. MR. FITCH exhibited two bronze purse-stretchers found at Sheringham, and a neolithic flint implement, found on the Lighthouse-hill at Cromer.

May 30th. MR. H. A. O. MACKENZIE communicated the following remarks on the composition of the colour used in mediæval painting on wood, illustrated by a figure of the

Virgin and Child found in a hole in the wall of the chancel of Shimpling Church. The carving is now mutilated, the head being lost, but has been of good execution, and of the fifteenth century :—

A very careful examination of the remaining portion of a wooden figure representing the Virgin and Child, found in Shimpling Church, induced me to make an investigation as to the method of colouring and gilding employed in its decoration. The gilding at present remaining upon the figure appears to have altogether defied decay, when it is taken into consideration that the figure itself was found built up in a cavity made in the east wall where damp, &c., and a close atmosphere must have done their worst to destroy both the wood and its covering of composition upon which the gilding and colors are laid. The first matter which claimed attention was the white composition upon which the colors are painted. In some parts this is as much as one-eighth to three-sixteenths of an inch, while on the more prominent parts it is not more than one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness. As a rule, it appears to have been laid upon the naked wood, but there are remains of a fabric adhering to the wood underlying the composition. It was at first thought that this composition might possibly be calcined gypsum (plaster of Paris), and this supposition was almost confirmed by the following test,—the color having been removed, a small portion one-eighth of an inch thick was ground into a fine powder, calcined, at the temperature necessary to convert gypsum into plaster of Paris, mixed with distilled water into a paste and allowed to set, which it was found to do, quite as hard as good plaster of Paris. The result of this experiment nearly pronounced for plaster of Paris, but upon treating the fragment with muriatic acid a strong effervescence upset the plaster of Paris theory, and, as it will be understood further on, there is every reason to suppose, that, even if in use in this country during the fifteenth century, plaster of Paris does not enter into the composition of the materials used by the decorative painters, whose beautiful work upon those rood-screens, so well known to members of the Society, has, with colors and gilt still bright, stood the test of some four hundred years.

Upon referring to the illustrated descriptions of the rood-screens published by the Society, the following questions at once attracted the attention—“What colors were employed, oil, or distemper, or what?” and although this question is, no doubt, directed more particularly, if not altogether, to the panel-painted figures, it is quite as interesting to apply the same query to the strictly decorative painting upon the screens. In thus merely mentioning the panel figures and without entering into discussion here upon them, it may be suggested that they or at least many of them were not painted *in situ*, or even in this country, but were purchased in Flanders, where, soon after the improvements made in oil painting by the Van Eycks at the beginning of the fifteenth century, these portable paintings upon panels could be easily procured. With regard to dates, John Van Eyck, was born about 1360; he it was who found out the drying process in oil painting, probably about the year 1410: previous to this discovery all oil paintings were dried by exposure to a strong sunshine. John Van Eyck was not, as is commonly supposed, the inventor or discoverer of oil painting, but only of the process of drying

without exposure to the direct rays of the sun. Now if ten years be allowed for John Van Eyck's drying process to become public property, and portable panel paintings began to be executed by artists in general, these panels could not have been obtained, and certainly not painted *in situ*, before the year 1420 or thereabouts. Probably all work of this kind executed *in situ* in this country is of a later date, more or less. The panel paintings from St. John's Church, Maddermarket, Norwich, now in the possession of the Rev. C. R. Manning, were undoubtedly painted *in situ*. It may be assumed that this is about the very earliest possible date of any of the old painted panels with which we are now so familiar, assuming of course that they are executed in oil colors. The decorative painting upon the screens could not have been executed in oils without Van Eyck's drying process, inasmuch as it must have been worked, *in situ*, where drying by strong sunshine would have been impossible. This then becomes almost a question of the *modus operandi*, oils or water colors. At first sight, the colors being all laid upon composition, would appear to be water, or ground in size or weak glue. It may be asked, if they are not, why not have painted direct upon the wood? but it must be borne in mind that colors were not so easily and cheaply procured in the fifteenth as in the nineteenth century, and it is useless to lay a brilliant paint direct upon wood, which must first receive several coats of some common priming color, &c., containing a large proportion of white lead ground in linseed oil. From this it may be inferred that the fact of the colors being laid upon a white or red composition is no proof that they are water-colors.

To ascertain the nature of the composition underlying the colors and gilding, small portions were submitted to chemical analysis and found to be simply carbonate of calcium mixed with size or weak glue, and in some cases, particularly under gilding, carbonate of calcium (chalk) with small quantities of oxide of iron (red earth) and oxide of lead (red lead or litharge) mixed with oil, probably boiled linseed oil. At the same time the colors themselves were also analyzed with a view to find out whether they had been mixed in oil or water: the result in every case proves that oil was the vehicle used. The moulded composition under the gilding, when of a reddish color, appears also to have been mixed with oil.

It is therefore suggested, independently of any local documentary, historical, or other evidence, that the painting upon the rood-screens being in oil colors and painted *in situ*, cannot be of an earlier date than about the middle of the fifteenth century.

(Copy.)

CERTIFICATE OF ANALYSIS, of some minute pieces of painted composition from H. A. O. Mackenzie, Esq., marked D. B. F.

- D. (1). Dark green paint on a white composition. The composition is carbonate of calcium (chalk) probably with size. The paint is mixed with oil.
- (2). Light green paint on a white composition. Carbonate of calcium with size (probably). The paint is mixed with oil.

- (3). Light green paint on a light brown composition. The composition is carbonate of calcium, with a *trace* of iron and mixed with oil. The paint is mixed with oil.
- (4). Red paint on a white composition. The composition is chalk, probably mixed with size.
- B. (5). Gold on a brown composition. The composition is carbonate of calcium, with small quantities of oxide of iron (red earth) and oxide of lead (red lead or litharge) mixed with oil. The blue paint on the edges is copper (verdigris).
- (6). Green paint on a white composition. The composition is carbonate of calcium, probably mixed with size. The paint is mixed with oil.
- F. (7). Blue paint on a white composition. The composition is carbonate of calcium, with a *trace* of oxide of iron. The paint contains copper.

November 7th. DR. BENSLY reported the discovery of an alabaster sculpture of the fifteenth century in the wall of Mulbarton Church. It is of good execution, and represents a priest at an altar with a chalice, and a dying person attended by several figures. It has since been drawn for the Society.

1878, *June 4th.* MR. FITCH exhibited some fragments of brass inscriptions found lately in the restoration of St. Bartholomew's Church, Heigham; one to William Karr, "*Hic jacet Willm̄s Karr cui aīe ppiciet' de.*" Amen." The other to William and Margerie Bateman, which is much mutilated, and the missing portions have not been found: "*+ Hic jacent ossa Wiffi Bateman et Margerie, patris*" It had been thought that these persons might be the father and mother of William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, but as the character of the letters in the inscription belongs to about the year 1400, or even later, and the Bishop died in 1354, there is no probability that such was the case. It happens that the names of the Bishop's parents were William and Margery: "William Bateman was eleven times one of the Bailiffs of Norwich, and served in parliament as Burgess for the city in 1326; he was a considerable owner both in Norfolk and

Suffolk, and lord of a free tenement or manor in Tivetshall. Sir Bartholomew Bateman, of Flixton, Knight, was his eldest son, and heir to his brother the Bishop, as well as his father. From him the Batemans of Mendham, in Suffolk, are descended in a direct line, that family being seated there and at Flixton ever since the Bishop's time, who chose to purchase much thereabouts, it being near the palace of South Elmham, which he much delighted in, and chiefly resided at. There was a third son named John, who lived at Norwich in 1324, from whom the Batemans of Norwich are descended."¹

MR. MANNING exhibited a silver penny of John, the blind King of Bohemia and Poland, 1310—1346, who was killed at the battle of Cressy. *Obv.* † JOHANNES DEI GRA. *Rev.* a cross and pellets, REX BOE ET POLO. A coin, with similar inscription, found at Tutbury, is described by Mr. Hawkins in the *Archæologia*, xxiv. 157, but having an eagle displayed between the *Æ* and *s* on the obverse, and also at the end of the inscription; and another found at Wyke, near Leeds, in *Archæologia*, xxviii. 67. Snelling, in his *Counterfeit Sterlings*, engraves one, plate 21. They are so called, although genuine in themselves, because they were imported with fraudulent intention, and illegally circulated in this country. The present one is without the eagle. This sovereign, who was grandfather to Queen Anne of Bohemia, the wife of Richard II., "was crowned King of Bohemia at Prague in 1310, took Silesia from the Poles in 1321, and after a long war renounced his claim to that kingdom in 1345, and was killed at the battle of Cressy in the following year. The coin, therefore, must have been struck between 1321 and 1345."—(*Ibid.* p. 72). It is popularly supposed that the Prince of Wales' badge, (not a crest)² of three ostrich feathers derives its origin from

¹ Blomesfield's *Norfolk*, iii. 506.

² So called in Hume's and Keightley's *History of England*.

the victory of Edward the Black Prince over this king at Cressy, who is thought to have had such a plume for his crest. Mr. John Gough Nichols, in the *Archæologia* (xxiv. 50), has shown that plumes were not worn until the time of Henry V. and then not as crests;³ and Edward the Black Prince's badge was a single feather. He thinks it possible, however, that there may have been a Bohemian royal badge of an ostrich's feather. An ostrich, collared and chained, holding in his beak a nail, is found as a badge on the dress of Queen Anne of Bohemia, on her monument in Westminster Abbey.⁴ These circumstances contribute to the interest to be attached to this little coin.

September 3rd. MR. FITCH reported a large find of Roman coins in a vase at Baconsthorpe, on the estate of J. T. Mott, Esq. There are as many as from ten to fourteen thousand, chiefly of billon, and mostly of the time of Postumus. They will probably form the subject of a more extended notice at a future time.

MR. MANNING exhibited a silver seal of the fourteenth century, with a loop at the back for suspension, set with a blue paste intaglio, representing the Agnus Dei, found at Wales'-end in Cavendish, Suffolk. The inscription is S. JOHANNIS DU BOIS,—possibly John de Bois, executor and steward of the household to Eleanor de Bohun, Duchess of Gloucester, who died in 1399.

³ A plume of turkey's feathers appears, however, as a crest on the Harsick brass at Southacre, Norfolk, 1384.

⁴ The subject is fully discussed in Planché's *History of British Costume*, p. 139., with a cut of the crest of King John of Bohemia from his seals, which was an eagle's wing, not an ostrich's.

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